KASHMIR
THROUGH THE AGES

G. L. KAUL

A Historical Survey

KASHMIR

THROUGH THE AGES

(5000 B. C. TO 1954 A. D.)

by

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FOREWORD

To write a history of Kashmir is indeed a difficult job, not because of the paucity of material needed for constructing it, but curiously enough, because of its abundance. To begin with, we might straightaway refer to Kalhana's Rajtarangni which has been written in 1149 A.D. This is the only work in ancient Indian literature which may be regarded as history in the true sense of the word. From Kalhana himself we learn that he had before embarking on his job taken great pains in ransacking all the then available material such as "the existing chronicles, writings of the sages like Nilamatpurana, ordinances (Shasana), inscriptions as well as other written records." About the main qualification of a historian Kalhana is positive that he should not allow himself to be swayed from the path of stating true facts by any sense of love or hatred. To this principle Kalhana has adhered with very great rigidity and strictness. He has shown great impartiality in his description of men and their affairs. The charge against Kalhana, however, is that before the beginning of eighth century his dates become extravagant and unreliable, and that his accounts before this period cannot be regarded as trustworthy. But it is added in the same breath that from eighth

century onwards the Rajtarangni may be regarded as a reliable history of Kashmir. Even before eighth century, we find facts narrated by Kalhana, the correctness of which is borne out by local tradition, names of towns and villages and the excavations, of temples and Vihars and by the accounts of Chinese pilgrims like Hiuen Tsang (631 A.D.) and references to the records of other countries mainly China, which country owes its conversion to the Buddhist faith, chiefly to the labours of many a Kashmiri saint and savant who went there to spread the message of great Lord. Amazing corroboration to the authenticity of Kalhana has very recently, thanks to the labours of Mr. Vaidya, been found from an unknown quarter. In Rajtarangni we come across a warlike and powerful king, Lalitaditya (697–733 A.D.), who is credited with having subdued Kanikaboj and other parts of India such as Kalinga Puri Karnata etc. He is also stated to have led an expedition to the north as well. There is no dearth of people who treat all this as nothing more than a colourful picture drawn by Kalhana of some minor victories which Lalitaditya may have scored over his less fortunate petty neighbouring chieftains. Even Stein, the famous translator of Rajtarangni, is of the same opinion. But nevertheless the corroboration comes from an amazingly reliable quarter. Now all of us know that the first Arab invasion of India took place in 712 A.D. Mohammed Bin Kasim led that expedition. The attack was made on Sindh which was then ruled by a

king by name Dahar. A letter written in 712 A.D. by Dahar, the king of Sindh to Mohd. Bin Kasim, finds place in Chhachanama which is a foreigner's account of the Arab invasion. In this letter the following passage occurs:—

> "If I had sent against you the king of Kashmir, on whose royal threshold the other rulers of Hind had placed their heads, who sways the whole of Hind, even the countries of Makran and Turan, whose chains a great many noblemen and grandees have willingly placed on their knees" etc.

The king of Kashmir referred to here can be none other than Lalitaditya. It was he who ruled Kashmir in 712 A.D.

The value of this corroboration, coming as it is quite unexpectedly without any desire for interpolation, is indeed very immense. There are many passages in Rajtarangni which throw light on many obscure points in the history of Hindu Kabul as also on the nature of political and social connections which existed between the Punjab and Kabul; and the part played by Kashmir in Kabul affairs can also be gathered therefrom.

Rajtarangni was continued by Jona Raja, Shrivara, Praja Bhatta and Shuka—the last named brought it to the occupation of Kashmir by Akbar. There are besides the above other indigenous historians who have written in

Persian—the more famous amongst them being Haidar Malik, Khawaja Azam, Pandit Narain Kaul, Pandit Birbar Kachru, Hassan, Mohammad Din Fauq and Pandit Hargopal Kaul. Pandit Anand Ram Pahalwan has carried down the history of Pandit Narain Kaul from 1712 A.D. to 1785 A.D. Pandits Narain Kaul and Birbar Kachru (who wrote his history in 1835 A.D.) have given a critical and a detailed account of the social, political and economic conditions of the people during their times.

Then there have been a number of foreign visitors who have left a detailed account of the country and its people. Hsuanstang (631 A.D.), O' Kong (759 A.D.), Abul Fazl (author of Aini Akbari), Bernier the French Physician (who came with Aurangzeb), Forrester in 1783 A.D. (during Afghan period), Moorecraft in 1822 A.D., Baron Hugel 1835 A.D., Vigne etc. (during the Sikh period) are some out of many such visitors. Alberuni the great Muslim scholar who came to India with Mahmood Ghaznavi has also left a detailed account of the people of Kashmir. During recent times many Europeans have written books on Kashmir.

Then again we come across with references to this country in (*a*) the annals of T'ang dynasty of China (*b*) Aini Akbari (*c*) Tuzaki Jehangiri (*d*) Ferishta's history etc. Besides all this the general conditions of our people have been described in many books of literature. Reference may in this behalf be made to Khsemendra

(11th Century) who was a great scholar and author of about 30 books. In his Desopdesa Mala and Narma Mala he has given a complete picture of the social and political conditions of the people of Kashmir in 11th century. He has described in detail the mode of Government and its corrupt bureaucracy and the intrigues that were rampant in the ranks of subordinate services.

From the above it would become clear how immense is the task of writing a history of Kashmir. That would require a great labour and the material resources of the person who embarks on this enterprise must be equally very great. But creditable indeed is the attempt of Pandit Gwasha Lal who relying on his own scanty resources has produced a book on Kashmir history and has compressed a huge mass of material in a small but readable volume. The popularity of the book can be gathered from the fact that it has already gone through three editions. Pandit Gwasha Lal has made the attempt—a very laudable attempt at that, but let us hope that it is not his last attempt. Before long we expect a book from the learned Pandit which would describe to us the general social conditions of our people including their laws, manners and customs they followed, through various stages of our history. He will also give us a general character of our mode of life and thinking in different epochs and will also analyse the various economic and social forces which gave rise to such ways of life and modes of thought.

Rajtarangni can supply the material for such a research in an abundant measure. As already stated, there is huge mass of religious and secular literature available which can greatly help in constructing such a history. Each age has left a complete picture of the life of the people in its literature. This can be exploited and a correct picture drawn.

Pandit Gwasha Lal has set the ball rolling, and as a result it is no wonder that interest in Kashmir history may be created elsewhere too. For the present we have only to wait and see.

JAMMU (TAWI) (JUSTICE) JIA LAL KILAM
January 29, 1953.

PREFACE

The book attempts only a bird's eye-view of the hoary past of Kashmir which has a continuous history commencing roughly from 5000 B.C. for the reader who has neither time nor patience to study a huge mass of literature. The presentation is very humble, come as it does from a layman.

The last edition was published in 1946 which was sold within only a year. The next edition could not be published on account of the raids and consequent war atmosphere in the country. It is hoped that the additions and alterations made in this edition will be appreciated.

JAMMU TAWI, GWASHA LAL
April 15, 1954.



THE AUTHOR

1923—1928 Press Representative.
1928 President "Kashmir Youngmen's Club".
1931 Correspondent "A.P.I. & Reuters."
1932 Editor "Daily Martand".
1933 Vice-President S.D. Youngmen's Association (Yuvak Sabha) Kashmir.
1934 Founder & Editor "The Kashmir Times".
1939 Founder & Editor "The Kashmir Chronicle".
1941 Census Supervisor (honorary).
1946 Author "Kashmir Past & Present".
1947 President "Kashmir Journalists Association"
1948 Director of News, Radio Kashmir.
1949. Information Officer, Jammu.
1950 Information Officer, Kashmir.

"Think in this battered Caravanserai
Whose portals are alternate night and day,
How Sultan after Sultan with his pomp
Abode his destined hour and went his way."

—OMMAR KHAYAM

Sweet interchange
Of hill and valley, rivers, woods and plains
Now land, now lake and lands with forest crowned
Rocks, dens and caves.

—PARADISE LOST

WELCOME TO THE EARTHLY PARADISE

Welcome to the Happy Valley where the world comes to an end and paradise begins :

Who has not heard of the vale of Kashmir,
With its roses the brightest that earth ever gave,
Its temples and grottos and fountains clear,
As the love-lighted eyes that hang over their wave.

—MOORE*

Kashmir is said to be the most beautiful piece of land on the face of this earth, a miniature heaven designed by Nature for the earthly people. This loveliest and richest casket replete with effects of the glitter of gems, pearls and emeralds lies within the second ring of the Himalayas, the Lord of the mountains, supporting snows of ages, all round the year, like an ermine cape and luring away travellers to the uttermost ends with the prospect of a near sight of the great glaciers which come sliding down the rugged slopes. The traveller feels that he is reaching

*Lalla Rookh was published in 1817. It is an account of journey of Aurangzeb's daughter from Delhi to Kashmir where she was to be married to the young king of Bucharia.

the Promised Land via Mount Ararat and the Deluge—

"A Land of clear colour and storm
In a region of shadowless hours,
When earth has a garment of glories
And a murmur of music and flowers,
In woods where spring half uncovers
The flush of her armorous face."

Kashmir is a country which may rightly be called the Earthly Paradise before which the title "Eden of the East" should blush. It is here that one sees the masterly touch of the Almighty Power. It is here that the Beauties in which Nature exhibits herself are full and fresh. It is here that spring appears on the earth's stage in all its glory on account of its delicacy and grandeur. It is here that one breathes out prayers to the Maker more fervently than the most magnificent cathedrals could evoke from him. And it is here that nature is visible to her lover in all her colours.

With the coming of the new year the people go out into the public gardens in gala dresses to see and be seen. This is the season when trees are laden with blooming blossoms, when birds of bright plumage are merry with their songs of melody, when the whole ground is covered with green grass, when the landscape presents an exquisitely beautiful look to the eye and one thinks that nature had been busy all

the winter time to furnish a sweet garden for *Rati* and *Kama* to enjoy. Happy valley "Where even the reptiles are harmless, where the trees are thronged with parliaments of cheery little butterflies" and where the twittering birds keep up a continuous chorus of 'good morning and welcome' to the traveller.

Kashmir of all others is a country that lends itself to a roving life, to be at one place to-day and at another tomorrow*. This Switzerland of Asia is so designed by Nature that every traveller who once finds his way here goes back with a reluctant heart. That it is the 'fairy lotus-land'—the full realisation of Tennyson's dream—cannot be gainsaid. It is a country in which with ordinary foresight there should never be a famine nor an epidemic. Writes C. Lambert:—"The fields of corn, the fruit blossoms and the soft air seemed to tell us we were in England or France. The rice terraces, the birds of glorious plumage reminded us we were in India. While above us were the pine forests of Switzerland or Norway. The whole valley was green with growing corn and gay with fruit blossom—a beautiful picture set in the frame of snow-clad Himalayas."

Kashmir is a holy land, the Ultima Thule of pilgrimage for the Hindu pilgrims in the North of Hindustan. There is not a space even

*Har sukhta jane ki be Kashmir darayed
Gar murgha kabab ast aba balu-par ayad.

as large as a grain of sesamum without a tirtha, says Kalhana, the master historian of ancient India. Compared to this holy land Banaras stands as a molehill before a mountain. The whole band of Olympian gods come to play a celestial dance here in spring time. This sacred land of Kashyapa is the philosopher's stone into which one may look with charmed vision. It is also that wonderful elixir of life that was sought by ancient sages for the purpose of perpetuating physical existence.

Shrinagar (wrongly called Srinagar and interpreted as the city of the Sun), the abode of Lakshmi, lies in the centre of the happy valley, otherwise known as 'an emrald set in stones'. A holiday in Kashmir is indeed 'an holy day' as one is surely brought into close communion with Nature.

City of cities, are you a dream ?
Do you simply drift on the heart's gold gleam?
Do you float on the banks of the brain's blue
stream?
Is there no such city anywhere?

The heights of the mountains which surround this beautiful city gently slope into verdant plains overgrown with flowers of attractive hues thus forming but a dark line in a 'network of silver' in which the Dal Lake glistens like a small mirror. The geographers are but candid in their opinion when they compare Florence with the Jhelum as its Arno.

"Such then is Kashmir, a country where the cheap tripper does not exist nor any picturesque loafer to jodel us at every corner as in parts of the Alps asking a franc for the hideous noise they have made, where even now a very small income goes a long way, where in short every prospect pleases and only man is vile"—J.C. Macdonell. It is no wonder if this our fairyland becomes in near future the focus of oriental civilisation, a second Rome in the heart of Asia.

We have not entered here into the details of the various heart-ravishing places which form the happy valley. They are, to single out a few out of many—Nishat Bagh, Shalimar, Chishma Shahi, Achabal, Manasbal,* Dal Lake, Kukarnag, Verinag (likened to a royal umbrella of which the Jhelum is the stick) and so on. For in these places one thinks not of the present rulers but of the Great Moghuls, the Warrior Emperors, of Akbar, of Jahangir, of Shah Jahan and others. They had an infallible eye for the most lovely spots in nature and now after the long lapse of three hundred years visitors to the Happy Valley still find gardens laid out, fountains playing, shady pavilions to rest in and fruit trees growing just as those mighty men designed them and everywhere the beauties seem enhanced by their intelligent interference with nature, not marred as would

*It derives its name from the sacred lake on Mount Kailasha usually located at Mansarowar in Tibet.

so often be the case under the hands of a modern landscape gardener whose eyes baffle at the sight of these exquisite recesses in nature.

The fountains which lull one to sleep grow exceedingly charming when they begin to play on these beautiful spots where one mass of eternal bloom, colour and loveliness prevails. Here Helen of Troy would remain for ever young and Romeo and Juliet could never die. It is as if a giant taking kindly compassion on a weakling suddenly offered him a soft cradle of repose in his mighty arms. These places look exceedingly beautiful in their nakedness even upto this day for no human hands have polluted them yet. We wish that Ruskin were living now to stem in this quarter of the globe the oncoming tide of the present day civilisation. Indeed these lovely spots form fitting places for sages, poets and philosophers to muse upon the abstruse problems of life and death. They ought to be the centres for the Universities because these alone can turn out true scholars and heroes. The book of nature is a greater volume than all the books together.

In the words of poet:—

"*Are we not happy? sunlit air,*
Soft colour, floods of dewy light,
A flowery perfume everywhere
Pour out their wealth for our delight."

Well has the writer said, "Do not call it Kashmir. It is a rival of the celestial fairy land.

It is a paradise on the face of the earth'. Therefore :—.

"Hail to the Rose of Kashmere :
The Rose of the Peri :
Hail to the Rose :
May thy life be as soft as the petals—
And ever sweet scented.
Hail to the Rose :
May its branches be over thy head—
And shield thee from danger :
Hail to the Rose :
Everspreading around thee,
Keep thee from harm,
Hail to the Rose :

So on to the Happy Valley whose keynote is Felicity for

"With quicker spread each heart uncloses,
And all is ecstasy : as now,
The Valley holds its feast of Roses"

But it should be preferred if it can be possible to step on to the magic carpet of the fairy tale and fly immediately to the 'Rose Garden'.

Historical Luminaries :

1. Asoka.
2. Lalitaditya.
3. Avantivarman.
4. Zain-ul-Abdin.
5. Akbar.
6. Gulab Singh.

INTRODUCTION

I

To write a history of Kashmir from the earliest times down to the present day is almost an impertinence, for the literature to be explored is so extensive. Where the field is so wide and so much is still obscure, it must be that I have committed some errors. I shall be grateful to any of my readers for corrections as well as suggestions.

The history of Kashmir is more a chronicle of kings and courts and conquests than of organic or national growth. It is at the feet of following masters and other modern writers that I have drawn my inspiration to present a bird's eye-view for guidance of such Scholars :—

Kalhana Pandit, Jonaraja Pandit, Shrinara, Prajyabhata, Haider Malik, Mohammad Azim, Narayan Koul, Hassan, Birbal Kachroo, Dewan Kirpa Ram. Of these Kalhana's Rajtarangni is almost a revelation. Among the masterpieces of the world his history is also one. The history of Kashmir takes a different turn from 1931, particularly from 1947 when Dogra Rule collapsed as invasion advanced on the Kashmir soil.

For pre-historic period we get some clues from the remains of ancient buildings, religious books, ballads, folklore, coins and inscriptions.

History, critically studied, teaches one his duties as a citizen. It reveals the vices which cause nations and individuals to decline and fall, and the virtues which lead them to power and prosperity. It is, therefore, necessary that this science of sciences should never be ignored whatever the pursuit of life may be.

THE AUTHOR

CHAPTER II

NOTE ON KALHANA

Kalhana was probably the son of Canpaka, the great Kashmirian Minister under Harsha. Born of a prosperous family he took to learning. Brahmin by caste and worshipper of Saiva cult, he still admired Buddhism. The chronicle he has bequeathed to us is written in verse. The introduction was attempted in 1148-49 or Saka 1070 and the work was completed in the year following. The writings of Suvrata, Keshemendra Padmamihara, Nilmatta, Halaraja and Chavillakara must have proved of immense help to him for information about early times.* Kalhana says, "Kashmir may be conquered

*Unfortunately their works are unavailable at present probably because the Rajtarangni supplanted them. But as Kalhana has given up their version in several places it would have been most useful for us to see what their version was and how far that version corresponded with other facts and with modern views. However, regret is of no avail. Stein who has studied the work most carefully opines that Kalhana's history is reliable. Kalhana says that he has got his statements verified by grants, inscriptions and other records. He appears to have been a State officer himself. We may, therefore, safely follow him assisted by Huien Tsiang, Chachanema and such historical data as may elsewhere be available. The study made by R.S. Pandit in his memorable book is also a useful guidance.

by the force of spiritual merits but not by force of soldiers" and it has proved correct.

It may be that Kalhana has sometimes suppressed and sometimes exaggerated things but his delineation of events suffers nowhere from dereliction.

It may be proudly said that while India was poor at history at one time it is Kashmir that gave a lead. Many a Scholar has received inspiration from Kalhana from time to time. He cannot distinguish between the legendary and genuine elements of tradition.

The great historian flourished in the twelfth century when Jayasinha was the ruler of Kashmir.

Rajtarangini, his memorable work, will ever continue to be a source of great interest to the world's historians. This book is unique in the literatures of the world.

Kalhana's task was continued by other scholars. Jonaraja Rajavali wrote Rajtarangni upto 1459, Shrinara upto 1486, Prajabhatta upto 1512, Skaka upto 1596.

Rajtarangni was translated into Persian in the time of Zian-ul-Abdin and Akbar. Stein's English translation appeared in 1892/1904.

"Kalhana's life-time coincides with one of the most turbulent periods in Kashmir's political

history. Events affecting the destinies of ruling dynasties and the welfare of the people happened in quicker succession. Had it not been for Kalhana's chronicle we should have known very little about them. King Harrsha (1089 to 1101 A.D.), by his own ill-tempered and ill-conceived actions, let loose a stream of tragic events, resulting in untold suffering and confusion. A luxurious court maintained out of all proportions to the financial resources of his government compelled him to impose heavy fiscal exactions and appropriate the assets of the landed aristocracy as well as some religious institutions. These events had their inevitable reactions. Kalhana's picturesque narrative shows how profoundly these influenced his entire outlook on society and contemporary affairs. His descriptions mirror his own personality.

"The high position which Kalhana's family occupied apparently gave him the necessary scope for intimate personal contacts with the leading men of his own time. While he maintains a studied reticence about himself, he tries to view the world around him, so troubled and confused, with an observant eye and an open mind which are essential for a chronicler. His insight into human nature is penetrating and his intimate acquaintance with his country's geography and material conditions seems to be surprisingly accurate for a poet. He portrays the men and events of his time not only in their individual manifestations but in their social and historical settings. The kings, the nobles, the

priests, the merchants and the general mass of people all receive their due share of comment in his hands. His analysis of social factors that influenced the political events of his time appears to be very accurate indeed.

"The Damaras, as the landed aristocracy of Kashmir were known in those days, constituted a powerful political factor. King Harsha had decided to suppress them. There was a complicated network of intrigues and counter-intrigues aimed at political supremacy, for which Kalhana shows the utmost disgust. This state of affairs eventually led to the armed rebellion of the persecuted and disgruntled nobles who, under the leadership of two brothers Uccala and Sussala of the royal family, succeeded in deposing the king, later assassinated. The rise of the Damaras to power made political confusion worse confounded. Intrigues between rival groups persisted and armed revolt by several pretenders to the throne rendered Kashmir's politics most confusing. Kalhana narrates these events with visible pain and disgust. The violent deposition of Harsha had its repercussions on the fortunes of Kalhana's family. Canpaka never entered politics again. He lived for more than thirty years after his retirement from public life. Kalhana appears to have been young at the time. But being very independent and sensitive, he never aspired for any office under any of the rulers. He was too proud to stoop for favours. When he began

to write his chronicle (1148-49 A.D.), Jayasinha, the son of usurper Sussala, was ruling. Kalhana did not conceal his contempt for Jayasinha's character. He denounces Sussala's wanton cruelties and avarice, but showers high praise on the valour and heroism of Bhikshachara, a pretender, whose political ambitions, however, he does not hesitate to condemn.

"Kalhana's remarks about the character of his coutrymen are such as only a man endowed with a keen, observant and critical eye could make. He shows positive aversion for the Damaras as a Class. He calls them "robbers". Though son of a high and respected official, he shows no enthusiasm for that class. He speaks of their degrading vices with evident relish. Althouhg proud of his birth as a Brahmin, he had an undisguised contempt for the Purohits or priestly class who, we understand, had organized themselves into Parishads or associations at all important centres of pilgrimage. Their ignorance, arrogance and baneful interference in the affairs of the state are portrayed by Kalhana with a biting satire sprinkled frequently with humour and criticism. He testifies to the peace-loving nature of the citizens, who during all these turbulent years appear to have remained calm and serene.

We know Kalhana only by the Rajtarangni. Of his other literary achievements we know very little. He lived at a time when Hindu religion and culture assumed a highly conventional form.

Classes and castes had long been crystallized. Political institutions bore the stamp of a feudal monarchy dominated by interested social groups. The citizens at large lived their normal life, practically unruffled by political events. Kalhana's own education and upbringing, therefore, could not have been anything but conventional. But he always maintained a detached and impartial outlook while delineating the men and institutions of his time. His approach was essentially human. The fact that at no time did he aspire for the patronage of any king or class enabled him to maintain a robust individualism. His painstaking scholarship and love for detail helped him to bequeath to posterity an invaluable historical document of rare literary merit. About his own narrative Kalhana says: "Though in view of the length of the narrative diversity could not be secured by means of amplifications, still there may be found in it something that will please the right-minded".

(KASHMIR)

RAJTARANGNI

"Now the present period of Vaivasvata Manu had come, the Prajapati Kasyapa induced the gods Druhina, Upendra, Rudra and others to descend and having caused Jalodbhava, who resided in it, to be slain, founded, upon the site of the lake, the kingdom of Kashmir.

It is the territory which he under the protection of Nila, supreme lord of all the Nagas, whose parasol is the swelling Nila Kunda with the flowing waters of the Vitasta for its staff.

Where Parvati who adores Guha and whose copious milk is drunk by the elephant-faced Ganesa although she has converted herself into the Vitasta, which turns her face towards low-lying lands and whose abundant waters are drunk in mouthfuls by the Nagas, does not abandon her natural impulse.

It is the resort of the Nagas, prominent among whom were Sankha and Padma, like the city of the Giver of Wealth, of the guardians of treasure.

It has, forsooth, stretched forth on their back its arms in the guise of its mountain ramparts for the safegaurding of the Nagas who had approached from terror of Garuda.

Where within the sanctuary of Papasudana those who touch the husband of Uma in wooden form secure for reward the pleasure of life and liberation.

Where on a waterless hill the goddess of Twilight is in possession of water which is the ocular demonstration of the presence of piety and the absence of sin.

Where the self-originating Fire emerging

from the womb of the Earth accepts with many arms of flame the votive offering of the sacrifices.

Where the goddess Sarasvati herself may be seen in the form of a swan in a lake on the peak of the Bheda mountain which is hallowed by the rise of the Ganga.

Where in the shrine the residence of Siva at Nandikestra are to be seen, to this day, the drops of the votive sandal emollient offered by the celestials.

In the country adorned by Chakrabhat, Vijayesa, Adikesava and Isana there is not even so much land as can be covered by a sesame seed which is profane.

Such is Kashmir the country which may be conquered by the force of spiritual merit but not by armed force; where the inhabitants in consequence fear more the next world; where there are hot baths in winter, comfortable landing places on the river-banks, where the rivers being free from aquatic animals are without peril, where realizing that the land created by his father is unable to bear heat the hot-rayed sun honours it by bearing himself with softness even in summer. Learning, high dwelling houses, saffron, iced water, grapes and the like—what is a commonplace there is difficult to secure in paradise.

"It is history and it is a poem, though the

two perhaps go ill together....Written eight hundred years ago, the story is supposed to cover thousands of years, but the early part is brief and vague and sometimes fanciful and it is only in the later periods, approaching Kalhana's own times, that we see a close-up and have a detailed account. It is a story of mediaeval times and often enough it is not a pleasant story. There is too much of palace intrigue and murder and treason and civil war and tyranny. It is the story of autocracy and military oligarchy here as in Byzantium or elsewhere. In the main, it is a story of the kings and the royal families and the nobility, not of the common folk-indeed the very name is the 'River of Kings'.

"And yet Kalhana's book is something far more than a record of kings' doings. It is a rich storehouse of information, political, social and to some extent, economic. We see the panoply of the middle ages, the feudal knights in glittering armour, quixotic chivalry and disgusting cruelty, loyalty unto death and senseless treachery; we read of royal amours and intrigues and of fighting and militant and adulterous queens. Women seem to play quite an important part, not only behind the scenes but in the councils and the field as leaders and soldiers. Sometimes we get intimate glimpses of human relations and human feelings, of love and hatred, of faith and passion. We read of Suyya's great engineering feats and irrigation works; of Lalitaditya's distant wars of conquest in far countries; of Maghavahana's curious

attempt to spread non-violence, also by conquests; of the building of temples and monasteries and their destruction by unbelievers and iconoclasts who confiscated the temple treasures. And then there were famines and floods and great fires which decimated the population and reduced the survivors to misery.

"It was a time when the old economic system was decaying, the old order was changing in Kashmir as it was in the rest of India. Kashmir had been meeting ground of the different cultures of Asia, the western Greeco-Roman and Iranian and the eastern Mongolian, but essentially it was a part of India and the inheritor of Indo-Aryan traditions. And as the economic structure collapsed it shook up the old Indo-Aryan polity and weakened it and made it an easy prey to internal commotion and foreign conquest. Flashes of old Indo-Aryan ideals come out but they are already out of date under the changing conditions. War lords march up and down and make havoc of the people. Popular risings take place—Kalhana describes Kashmir as 'a country which delighted in insurrection', and they are exploited by military leaders and adventurers to their own advantage. We reach the end of that period of decay which ultimately ushered in the Muslim conquest of India. Yet Kashmir was strong enough, because of its mountain fastnesses, to withstand and repulse Mahmud of Ghazni, the great conqueror who made a habit of raiding India to fill his coffers and built up an empire in Central Asia. It

was nearly two hundred years after Kalhana wrote his history that Kashmir submitted to Muslim rule, and even then it was not by external conquest but by a local revolution headed by a Muslim Offical of the last Hindu ruler, Queen Kota."

(JAWAHAR LAL NEHRU)

(Reproduced from R.S. Pandit's translation of Rajtarangni).

CHAPTER III

THE GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS AND CREEDS OF KASHMIR.

The territory known as the Jammu and Kashmir State lies between 32 and 37 N. and 73 and 80 E. It is an almost entirely mountainous region with a strip of level land along the Punjab Border, and its mountains, valleys and lakes comprise some of the grandest sceneries of the world. The State may be divided physically into three areas; the upper, comprising the area drained by the river indus and its tributaries; the middle, drained by the Jhelum and Kishanganga rivers; and the lower, consisting of the level strip along the Southern Border and its adjacent ranges of hills. The dividing lines between the three areas are the snow-bound inner and outer Himalayan ranges known as the Zojila and the Panchal. The area of the State is 84,471 sq. miles. Beginning in the South where the great plain of the Punjab ends, it extends Northwards to the high Karakorum mountains where "the three Empires meet".*

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*Kashmir has 39 towns and 8903 villages. The rural population is 35,03,929 and urban 3,62,314 (1941 Census).

Briefly described, the State comprises the valleys of the three great rivers of Northern India *viz.*, the upper reaches of the Chenab and the Jhelum and the middle reaches of the Indus. The total population is 40,21,616 (1941 Census).

Within the boundaries of its mountainous walls dwells a population widely apart in creed but speaking a common tongue. It is necessary, at the outset, that we should form an idea of the main geographical conditions and leading creeds; for natural boundary, climate and creed had much to do with the course of the political history of the country.

Kashmir is surrounded on all sides by huge and thick mountainous walls. It occupies a place in the North—West of Hindustan. On the northern side it runs into the continent of Asia. To its west lies Afghanistan. The plains of Pakistan and Bharat look up to it from the South for a cool breeze. The Himalayan range which includes Chinese Tibet lies to its east.

Kashmir was once isolated from the rest of the world by these physical barriers and easy and rapid communication with other countries was impossible. It was not until the advent of the Dogras when the roads had been planned and metalled that there was a direct intercourse between Kashmir and the rest of the world. In fact the two Trunk-Roads—Banihal Cart Road and the Jhelum Valley Road—are the greatest contribution of Dogra Rule to Kashmir.

We may distinguish two main land divisions of Kashmir, the Frontier and the Valley. The former consists of Gilgit and Ladakh on one side and Muzaffarabad on the other. The latter consists of two Wazarats—Baramulla and Anantnag—through which the Jhelum silently flows. The Frontier is a mountainous tract inhabited by hardy people who witness snow throughout the year. The valley is a vast plain inhabited by peaceful agriculturists who grow maize and rice in summer and spin cloth in winter. The Pir Panchal, an entanglement of mountains, ravines and forests often presented a formidable obstacle to the passage of the armies and delayed the spread of civilisations for years.

The Kashmir Valley is 84 miles long and 20-25 miles broad. It is over 5000 ft. above the sea level. It consists of Madanarajya-Maraz (Anantnag Wazarat) and Kramarajya-Kamraj (Baramulla Wazarat). The city of Srinagar is popularly known as Yanurajya. Baramulla District is less productive than the Anantnag District. The city only consumes all that is grown in the two districts.

The people of Kashmir enjoying a cool climate command a sound physique and we shall read hereafter of many great warriors and teachers who made Kashmir one of the important states of Hindustan.

The chief creeds are Hinduism, Buddhism,

Islam, Sikhism and Christianity. The earliest known inhabitants of Kashmir are the Hindus, the offsprings of the ancient Aryans. It is out of this stock that subsequent conversions to Islam, Sikhism and Christianity were made. There are now 16,15,428 Muslims, 85,638 Hindus and 27,034 Sikhs living in the valley. The Budhists mostly live in Ladakh. (1941 Census).

The inhabitants of the valley are one of the most finely built people of the world and given proper breeding may compare favourably with the white races of the West. The Kashmiris belong to the Indo-Aryan ethnic type. This type approaches most closely to that ascribed to the traditional Aryan colonists of India. Their stature is fairly tall ; head long; nose narrow and prominent, but not specially long.

The Kashmiri language is a Prakrit. It sprang from an unaffiliated Apabbramsa. The term Prakrit is applied to all vernaculars and denoted a certain amount of phonetic decay as compared with the literary standards. People speaking Kashmiri tongue total nearly 15,49,460. (1941 Census).

CHAPTER IV

PRE-HISTORIC PERIOD

The early history of Kashmir like the birth of James Yellowplush and many other events is 'wrapped up in mystery'.*

Tradition has it that once the valley of Kashmir was a big lake called the Satisar *i.e.*, the lake of Sati (Durga). In it dwelt numerous Pishachas, Yakshas and Nagas headed by a ferocious demon whose name was Jaldeo or Jaludhar. (Prajapati) Kashyapa, a great sage, son of Marichi and grandson of Brahma (the creator of the whole universe according to the Hindu Pantheon), practised penance for a long time. The gods Druhina, Upendra and Rudra felt compassion for him. At last the goddess Sharika, (the guardian deity of many devotees) moved by pity appeared in the form of a *myna* (Sparrow) carrying in her beak a pebble which she threw upon this wicked demon who was a nuisance to humanity. That pebble grew into the Hari Parbat hill of today, the Olympus of the Hindus. Thereafter the whole water was drained off across a hole in the earth near

*Thakeray

Baramulla (the furrow of the Boar).* Since then the land which thus emerged out of water came to be known as Kashyapamar or Kashmir after the famous sage of Kashyapa to whom the term 'Rock of Ages' may fitly be applied. Kashyapa did not live alone in this land. He invited people from the plains to settle here. They came every year in hordes and left again at the approach of winter to re-appear again in spring time. Living in winter here in those days was extremely difficult. At this time Nila Nag (Kashyapa's son), the Lord of Serpents, came to the rescue and advised people to appease the demons by giving them offerings.** Such, according to the tradition, is the origin of this beautiful land which is attracting thousands of tourists every year. The existence of too much water appears to be an attestation of the existence of the lake which is so nicely wrapped up in fiction.

Another account is available according to which the brother of Vishnu, Balbhadra drained the lake with his ploughshare, whereupon Vishnu slew the demon. Geologists corroborate

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*Some maintain that in early times it was the dwelling place of Vishnu in his Primeval Boar incarnation. Others are of opinion that Parvati who lives in the mountain Haramuk used to sail her boat in the lake now called Wular.

**These offerings have survived to this day. In winter particularly Hindus of Kashmir prepare special dishes on prescribed days which they offer to demons. *Gadbatta*, *Khichrimavas*, *Kavpunim*, and so on may be traced to these times.

the story only so far as the existence of the Lake. Traces of beaches on the mountain sides, flat and uniformly even surface of the plateaus, existence of fresh water, fishes and fossil oyster-black shells of the water, chestnut, etc. indicate a flurial origin. The name of Kashmir also implies "land desiccated from water", (Sanskrit-Ka water, Shimira to desiccate). In Puranas Kashmir is calleed Garek (hill)*. The ancient Greeks called it Kashpeiria. Herodotus mentions it as Kashypatros while Hekatatus calls it by the name of Kaspalyros or Kaspapyros. It is called Shie-mi in the narrative of To Yeng and Sung You (578 A.D.). Huien Tsiang calls it Kia-shi-mi-lo.

*Kashmir—*kas* channel *mir* mountain—a deep trough with rocky walls.

CHAPTER V

THE EARLY HINDUS

History is always continuous. There can be no fresh start. The real history of Kashmir begins probably from five thousand years before Christ. It is said that Sri Ram Chandra, the conqueror of Lanka, was the first king who established a kingdom in Kashmir but there is no authentic evidence in proof of this though various shrines named after him exist to this day. For about six hundred and thirty-three years Dayakaran and his fifty-five successors are said to have ruled in Kashmir. Somdatta was probably last of the line.

The Rajtarangni opens with the name of the glorious king of Kashmir, Gonanda I, 'worshipped by the region which Kailasa lights up and which the tossing Ganga clothes with a soft garment' who came to the throne of Kashmir in about 3121 B.C. Kalhana disputes it. He maintains that Gonanda became king in 2448 B.C. (653 Kali).* Professor Wilson places him

*The Kali era is supposed to begin from 3102 B.C. The Saptrishi or Laukika era was also used in Kashmir. It was based upon the theory of a revolution of Ursa Major every two thousand seven hundred years. In practice, however, it is reckoned in cycles of a hundred years, begin-

on the throne in about 1400 B.C. Some suggest 1710 B.C. as the probable date while others are of opinion that he flourished about twenty years before the Mahabharata.*

Gonanda was a relative of Raja Jarasingh who gave a battle to Lord Krishna. Gonanda went to his succour but was assassinated near about Mathra.

Gonada I was succeeded by his son Damodra I. He also waged war against Krishna during the Soyambara celebrations of Raja Gandhar's daughter but was killed. Sri Krishna then gave the throne to his pregnant wife (Yasovati was her name) and when the posthumous child was born he was named Gonanda II. It was during his reign that the Mahabharata was fought. Being a mere boy he was not invited by any party. During his reign there came one Hardev, a descendant of the Pandus, to Kashmir. He was very poor. The king took pity upon him and offered him a job in his service. Hardev became such a great favourite of the king that he was soon made the Dewan. One day he seized an opportunity and made an end of the

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ning in the twenty-fifth year of each century of the Christian era plus twenty-four or twenty-five to be added to it. The term Saptrishi is used when the era is counted in full; when the date is abridged by reckoning made in the 100-year cycle, it is called Laukika or Loka-Kala.

*Mrs. Bruce says that since the story of Kashmir can be traced back to 2000 B.C. it should command our interest and respect.

king. It may be noted here that the contemporaries of the Kurus and the Pandus have not been recorded which shakes the historical background a little.

Thirty-five kings followed. Raja Ramdev in the line is said to have built the temple at Mattan in about 3007 B.C. Ramdev was a great monarch who defeated five hundred kings in wars. His kingdom extended as far as the Bay of Bengal. He took one-tenth of the land produce as his revenue. Another king named Lava is said to have built the city of Lolara (Lolav). The city is stated to have contained eithty-four lacs of stone-buildings. Then followed Kusha and Surrendra. Kusha built Kuruhara. Surrendra founded the town Soraka and also built Khara Narendrabhawana. Raja Sudersen was the twentieth king descended from Hardev. During this time there broke out a big earthquake which caused a heavy loss to the country. After many years the kingdom fell into the hands of Wazir Bamro who snatched it from one Prahlad. This Wazir Bamro fell in love with a woman named Lolare and there is a love song in Kashmiri called Lolare-Bamro,* which describes the romantic adventures of the couple. Praversen, last of the line, founded the city of Shrinagar. Godara, a scion of another family, is also mentioned to have occupied the throne. His son Swarna known as 'giver of gold' was a

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*Some historians are of opinion that this anecdote cannot be historical.

munificent monarch. After him we come across Janaka, Sacinara and Asoka. It was Asoka who first enbraced the doctrine of Jina. According to various accounts Ogyges or Ogbuz, the Scythian, also invaded Kashmir.

He was repulsed by Prince Jaqub of Jammu.* Ogyges was forced to leave the country empty handed because he was a poor match against the assailant.**

In 326 B.C. the king of Kashmir sent his brother to announce submission to Alexander. Alexander had advanced to the Vitesta (Hydaspes) and met the army of King Porus who was promised assistance by the king of Kashmir in spite of the latter's submission to the Macedonian. But Porus was defeated.

Kashmir was not always what it appears to us to-day. It might have been a huge jungle or a rough mass of land which those early kings were destined to rule. The people lived in rude huts and icy caves, practising austerities and feeding upon herbs and wild plants. No trade facilities of to-day softened the labour of the people then. Each man had to provide for himself. Money was scarce. 'Exchange or Barter system' prevailed everywhere. In spite

*This solitary reference connects the history of Jammu with the history of Kashmir for the first time.

**The story looks fictitious but it is difficult to wean history from fiction relating to a time thousands of years old.

of all these disadvantages which the modern man is quite unaware of, they have left to us a tradition "in simplicity sublime" which has survived centuries of unrest in the thought-realm influenced by exotic creeds, strange languages and foreign arts.

The kings who ruled in those days were themselves either scholars or patrons of learning. They administered justice according to the dictates of Dharma (duty) enjoined by Shastras. They seldom had any lust for pillage. The Brahmins were highly honoured. Their statesmanship won them homage from all.*

*Panchayat Raj was the type of administration known then. But the king was looked upon as the representative of God in whom were vested all powers. He could collect taxes, lead armies and administer justice. Caste system had its say in the make-up of the administration.

CHAPTER VI

THE BUDDHISTS

Asoka surnamed "The Pous' conquered Kashmir in about 250 B.C. and with him also came Buddhism. Some believe that Asoka* of Kashmir was different from Asoka of Indian fame. But this view has not been accepted by scholars. He had four sons though Kalhana mentions only Jaluka. The Empire was divided among the four sons and Jaluka got Kashmir. According to Kalhana, Asoka exterminated mlecchas, root and branch. Shrinagar and Dharamaravya Vihara, the top of which could not be seen by the human eye, so high it was, are attributed to Asoka. However, the State religion did not draw to itself many followers from the populace as the land was under the sway of the learned Brahmins whose fame for scholarship in the Sanskrit lore had travelled to the distant parts of Hindustan, Tibet, China, Java and Japan. Low caste Hindus alone presumably adopted the new faith. It is recorded that Asoka sent Majjhantika (thereas or missionary) to Kashmir who converted about 80,000 people. There is mention of about 500 Buddhist Monasteries in Kashmir in his

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*Asoka lived in the same period as Hannibal.

time. "He gave up all Kashmir for the benefit of the Buddhist Church." During Asoka's regime peace reigned supreme in the country. He had his capital near about the present Pandrethan. This town was destroyed by fire about the end of the tenth century A.D. Only the old temple which then, as now, stood in water escaped the flames.

Asoka* was succeeded by his son Jaluka in about 220 B.C. Jaluka** was a great worshipper of Siva, the third of the Hindu Trinity. He had intercourse with Naga maidens and Avadhuta was his principal instructor. There is a legend according to which he possessed a magic substance which could transform baser metals into gold. Mlecchas he routed badly. He conquered Kanyakubja and his kingdom extended as far as Kanauj and Kandhar. About him it is said that he used to go to Wangat and

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*While we read old accounts we come across "Shardha University" somewhere in Keran District. The place known as 'Shardha' is still there but no traces of a University are yet available. It is this University which allured the Chinese scholars to come to Kashmir on their way to India. It is possible that Asoka may have shifted the scene of this University from Kashmir to Nalanda which later on rose to fame.

**This is one of the numerous instances of religious freedom that while the father held one belief, the son held another. At the same time this legend lends weight to the argument that Jaluka was not the son of Asoka. But at the same time it looks irreconcilable that Asoka should have been a Buddhist and Jaluka a Sanatanist Hindu.

bathe there in the spring every morning. One day he was too late. The deity felt compassion for him and by his orders another spring arose in the city called Sahodara (born of the same parents). Thus was he saved of the great trouble of making a long journey every day to the holy spring. To test the identity of Sahodara he threw a golden cup in the original spring and this after two and a half days appeared in the spring at Srinagar. Such devotion is rare indeed. To quote another fable, Krtya once begged food and then human flesh which king Jaluka agreed to give from his own body. The temple on the top of Shankaracharya hill is attributed to him, but it lacks evidence.

After Jaluka we come across Damodra II. He constructed a long dam called Gudsetu. It is said that once* some Brahmins asked the king for food but he requested them to wait till he would bathe. The Brahmins were offended and they at once pronounced a curse which turned the poor king into a serpent. This 'legend is known as the legend of Damodara Suda'.

The Brahmins of Kashmir had become great admirers of Buddhism. Some became its missionaries and went far and wide to preach the new faith to the people. Shak Yashri Bhadia went to China to preach the gospel of Buddha there. Ratanjira went to Bodh Gaya,

*These instances are quoted simply to show the part religion played in politics and administration as it did elsewhere also.

Udyana and Tibet to spread the new doctrine there. Arhat Madhyantika roamed throughout Kashmir and acquainted the people with Buddhism and its founder. But in spite of this the new faith did not take roots in the soil.

From about 150—100 B.C. Kashmir was under the subjection of Tartar Chiefs. They were immediately followed by the Indo-Scythian kings. They subdued Kashmir when the Romans were conquering Britain and Buddhism was spreading in China. Hushka to whom the date 125 A.D. is assigned founded Aushkar (Hushkapur) and went his way. Then appeared Jushka on the scene (185 A.D.). He established himself at Zakar (Jushkapur) and passed away in 225 A.D. The most notable figure of these was Kanishka (the Kusan king of Gandhara) to whom the date 120-160 A.D. had been assigned although this must be accepted with hesitation. Many authorities assign to Kanishka's accession the date 58-57 B.C. Kanishka founded the city of Kanuspur (Kanishkapura). His empire extended on both sides of the Hindukush, the Pamirs and the Karakorum range. In Kashmir he held the famous third great Council of the Chruch which drew up the Northern Canon or 'Greater Vehicle of Law'. He was a great Buddhist monarch and in his time a famous Budhistava named Nagarjuna lived at Harwan (Sudrahvana). Kanishka's death was tragical, as the story says, and he was smothered with a quilt. Abhimanyu built the town of Abhimanyupura. In this

time Candracarya introduced the Mahabhasyha. Kashmir witnessed heavy snowfall and it was only averted by the intervention of Nilanag*. Conanda III was a great enemy of Buddhism who patronised Nilamatpurana. Nara was a wicked monarch. Buddhism received a death-blow at his hands. He also destroyed the town near Vijayeswara. Hiranayasksa founded Hiranyapura at the entrance of the Sindh Valley.

The white Huns began their raids on Kashmir in the first half of the sixth century when England was under the Saxons.** Vasukulas' son Mihirakula, the Indian Nero, came to power in about 515 A.D. His kingdom extended from Kabul valley to Central India. According to some he got Kashmir in 530 A.D. Perhaps he recovered his lost dominions between 544—550 A.D. From other sources we learn that he succeeded his father Toramana in 510 A.D. and reigned at Sakala (Sialkot) over his Indian territories. There is some confusion as Mihirakula, son of Vasakula, and Mihirakula, son of Toramana, could not be one and the same person. An Indian Confederacy led by Narasimha Gupta of Maghda and Yasodharman, a king of Central India, defeated Mihirakula in about 528 and took him prisoner. He was sent out of India and a younger brother seized

*Nilanag is also a lake from which the annonymous Nilamatpurana is believed to have emerged. Kashmiri Pandits to this day follow the cult of Nilamatpurana.

**Kalidasa was born in Kashmir in the latter half of 5th century. He left Kashmir during the Huns.

his kingdom at Sakala. He was befriended by a king of Kashmir whom he afterwards dethroned and thus obtained possession of the kingdom of Gandhara. Mihirakula showed leanings towards the Shaiva cult. He was the worst type of a king. In his time tyranny was the order of the day. His principal hobby was slaughter. The people were very badly off. They were treated as worse than beasts.

It is said that he seldom laughed. Once he was seated on the window of his palace when all of a sudden a huge elephant tumbled down from the top of a neighbouring hill. On seeing the fall he smiled and this was for the first and the last time in his life.* This story may or may not be true but this is corroborated that he once caused destruction of a hundered elephants on the Pass of Pir Panchal.

Mihirakula's son Baka was a virtuous man. Vasunanda wrote a handbook on erotics. After Nara II came Aksa who founded Aksanala. Gopoditya the Good was a great builder. He founded Agraharas and built the temples of Iyeshthesvara and Sankaracharya. Gopoditya's successor Gokarna founded the shrine of Siva, Gokarneshwara. Adhishtra I ended the first Gonanda dynasty. He was a cruel king. Rebellions forced him to abandon his kingdom. Pratapaditya I, a realtive of Harasha Vikra-

*According to one version the fall of the elephant was arranged by him for mere amusement.

maditya, ascended the throne at the request of the disgruntled Ministers. During the reign of Tunjina I a great famine broke out. Tunjina was a magnificent king. Kavi Chandaka flourished during his reign. Vijaya founded the town of Vijayashwara. It was through the magic of witches that Sandhimati, a wise Minister, is credited to have been brought back to life. Sandhimati Aryaraja ruled piously for about forty-seven years. The disaffection among his subjects, caused by earlier misrule, however, obliged him to abdicate. He died as a recluse at Siva Bhutesa. The throne was then offered to Meghvahana, son of Gopoditya. He was both strong and pious. Meghvahana proved to be a great patron of Buddhism. He subjugated Vibhishana of Ceylon during 'Digvijay' (conquest of the world). Meghvahana's son S'resthasena built a number of temples at Pandrethan. Tormana was thrown into captivity for striking coins in his own name as Yuvaraja. Then followed Matrigupta. Vikramaditya of Ujjain despatched this poet with a letter. He did not know what the letter contained. At the frontier pass he was surprised to see himself received by the people's representatives. He was a kind ruler. He maintained peace and won good-will of his subjects. After a reign of about five years he abdicated in favour of Praversena II and later on died at Banares as a recluse. Praversena heard of Vikramaditya's death and Matrigupta's abdication on his way at Kangra. He conquered Gujrat and founded

Pravarapura.* Yudhishthira II built viharas and buildings everywhere. It is mentioned that Ranaditya ruled for a period of three hundred years. His queen Ranasambha was noble and pious. Baladitya was last of Gonanda's race**. He married his daughter to one Durlabhavardhana, a small official who proved to be a descendant of Nagakarkote and the throne finally passed into his hands.

Durlabhavardhana ruled for thirty six years. The date of his accession is given by some writers as 598 A.D. and by others as 627 and 602 A.D. His dynasty is called Karkotaka dynasty, because it was protected by the mythical serpent Karkotaka mentioned in the Mahabharata. During his reign Huien Tsiang,*** a Chinese pilgrim who visited India in 631-633 A.D., came to Kashmir via Hashkapura (Hazara) and made

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*He was the first to build a bridge of boats across the Jhelum and probably made the embankment from the Dal Gate to the city which separates the Chinar Bagh from the Dal Lake.

**We know from Kalhana that the mediaeval period of Indian history actually commenced in Kashmir in the very beginning of the seventh century A.D. with the establishment of a new dynasty of kings. The ancient mythical Govardiya dynasty came to end in Laukika era 3677. This era commenced 25 or 26 years after Kaliyuga which begins in 3101 B.C. Thus the Laukika era which obtained in Kashmir down to Kalhana's days begins with 3075 B.C. This Govardiya ancient dynasty accordingly ended in (3677–3075) 602 A.D.

***He received instruction in Buddhism at Joyandre Vihara and at Harwan Vihara

remarkable enquiries about the country and its people. He says that the people were handsome and well instructed. Being a Buddhist he was against idolatry and he writes, "This is not much given to the faith, and the temples of the heretics are their sole thought." Elsewhere he says that the people are weak, pusillanimous and cunning. Durlabhavardhana appears to have extended his kingdom by conquering Taxila, Sinhapura and Urasa. His son Pratapaditya (Durlabhaka) ruled for fifty years. He built Pratapapur and married Narendraprabha (Prakasadevi), the wife of a foreign merchant. He was a most meritorious king and Kalhana tells us many stories of his justice and solicitude for the welfare of his people. In 631 Prunts (Poonch) and Rajouri were subject to the King of Kashmir.

Chandrapida, his son, ruled for nine years. He was a just king who built many shrines but his death was brought about by witchcraft. He was followed by his brother Tarapid who ruled for four years only. He was very cruel and he was succeeded by his brother Lalitaditya Muktapida (699/700-736 A.D.) He was a contemporary of Charlamagne the Great. Lalitaditya was a great monarch. He subjugated the Punjab, Kanauj, Tibet, Badakshan and Peking and returned to Kashmir after twelve years of conquest abroad with the poet Bhavabhuti in his custody whom he afterwards made his poet Laureate. About this time Kashmir had embassies in China. In a letter written in

712 A.D. addressed by Babar to Mohammad Kasim occurs the following passage. "If I had sent against you the king of Kashmir on whose Royal threshold the other rulers of Hind had placed their heads, who sways the whole of Hind, even the countries of Makran and Turan, whose chains a great many noblemen and grandees have willingly placed on their knees and against whom no human being can stand." Again Al'Beruni remarks, "The second of Chaitra is a great festival day in Kashmir in honour of victory of its king over the Turks." This refers to the victory of Lalitaditya, the conqueror of Hindustan, over the Turks. He built the temple of Martand (dedicated to the Sun) with a great uncut stone wall and the town of Purihaspur (Shadipur) where he also raised a mighty column. Besides, he made numerous fine canals and reclaimed waste land but he did not allow more grain to be kept by cultivators than what they required for a year. There was, however, the corresponding obligation to feed the cultivator and his family when enough grain was not forth coming on account of adverse agricultural season. This view has the support of Mr. V.N. Mehta, I.C.S. (refer to the Twentieth Century for November 1934). So generous was he that he ordered a large cauldron to be constructed from which 100,000 persons could be daily fed. Kalhana says that the wealth offered and dedicated to temples could not be counted. He also sent a mission to China of which mention is found in the Chinese annals. Though a Hindu he was sympathetic to Buddhism and

built a Monastery and Stupa at Hushkapur. Rashness was his only vice. In a fit of drunken madness he ordered Pravarsena's beautiful city to be fired and he laughed as he watched the flames. According to another version, his wise ministers managed to save the city by putting a huge pyre of dry hay on fire instead. The king thought that the city was burnt. He again left for Turkistan where he died after a reign of seven years.* His sons brought no credit to their father. They survived for some time and disappeared.

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*At some places befitting his exploits, at others in pursuance of convention that proud man usually assigned names to his foundations.

He founded Suniscitapura where he had formed the resolution for conquest up to the horizon; in the pride of triumph he founded Darpitapura consecrated to Visnu.

When he was accepting fruits the king had founded Phalapura, Parnotsa where he had received leaves and the Vihara of Kridarama where he held sports.

By fixing one magnet above which pulled upwards and another which in the same way exerted a pull downwards he put up without supports in Striraj an image of Narhari.

While that monarch was abroad it is said that his architect built a town to bear his name and suffered from his anger as a consequence.

In that town which had been named Lalitapura the king bursting with pride, offered to the Sun territory of Kanayakubja together with the villages.

By this high-minded king was founded at Huskapura the blessed Muktasvamin and a colossal Vihara together with a Stupa.

Having taken one crore he had marched forth for

On-Kong (759-763 A.D.), another Chinese pilgrim, visited Hindustan in 759 A.D. He gives a memorable account of the land of Kashyapa and its people. During his visit anarchy prevailed. Might was right and all was chaos and confusion. On-Kong says Buddhism was nevertheless in a flourishing condition. He stayed at Pandrethen (Bavarapura).

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conquest up to the horison; when he returned he offered eleven crores to Bhutesa for purification.

And the king there achieved the construction of a stone temple of Jyestha Rudra with the grant of land and villages.

At Cakradhara he made a diversion of the waters of the Vitasta and by constructing a series of water-wheels dealt them out widely among the villages.

The magnificent king built the marvellous temple of Martanda with massive stone walls inside encircling ramparts and a township which rejoiced in grape-vines.

At Lokapunya having founded a town replete with various material resources the conqueror presented it, together with villages, to Visnu.

Thereafter, the terrestrial Indra who was by nature extremely humorous founded Parihasapura which ridiculed the abode of Indra.

Resplendent was the silver statue of the god, the holy Parihasakesave as if he were annointed with the lustre of pearls during slumber in the ocean.

As if pleased with the mass of filaments of the lotus on the navel the statue of Visnu—the holy Muktakesave—was resplendent in gold.

Mahavaraha was radiant wearing the armour of gold like sun when he carries the beams of light to annihilate darkness in Patala.

He had a statue of god Govardhanadhara cast in

Jayapida's a reign began in 746 A.D. and ended in 795 (782) A.D. According to some he ruled from 779 to 808 A.D. For conqusets abroad he marched out with a huge army and 80,000 litters. The kings of Ganda took to heels

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silver; the whiteness which it bore was due as it were to the floods of milk from Gokula.

After erecting a colossal stone fifty-four hands high he placed, on the crest of the standard, Garuda, the emblem of Visnu.

With large quadrangle, lofty chapels and a colossal statue of Buddha the king, who was free from the passions, constructed the Rajavihara which always had abundant provisions.

He had used eighty four thousaud Tolakas of gold for the figure of Muktakesave.

The very same number of Palas of silver the pure-minded one collected and constructed the holy Pariha-sakesave. Further, with as many thousands of P asthas of brass he founded a colossal statue of the blessed Buddha which filled the heavens.

The quadrangle and chapel were built with equal amount of money—thus the five structures were treated alike by him.

At some places of silver, at others of gold, the king who was comparable to Kubera founded images of the gods by the side of principal deities.

How many precious stones, villages and materials he granted them! Who has the capacity to fix their number accurately?

By the ladies of the royal household, the councillors, the rajahs who were in his service, hundreds of sacred foundations were made which were the marvels of the world.

His queen, Kamalavati who had founded Kamlahatta built a large size silver image of Kamalakesave.

before him. By his personal prowess he married Kalyandevi (or Kamaladevi), daughter of Jayanta of Bengal where he had gone in disguise. Kanauj fell at his mere appearance. On return he slew his brother-in-law Jajja who had usurped the throne during his absence. Jayapida (entitled Vinayadita) was a great patron of learning. He revived the study of Mahabhashya, the great work on grammar by Patanjali and so on. He built Jayapura at Andurkoth. The Naga Lord of the Mahapadma (Wolur) showed him a copper mine for saving him from a sorcerer. The poet historian observes that equally divided between valour and learning as if placed between two reflecting mirrors, the king seemed not doubled only but made hundredfold. Towards the end he exercised tyranny through his Kayastha officers (a title of mixed Kshatriyas whose caste occupation was writing and government service). Fiscal exactions became the order of the day till at last he died as a result of the falling

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The minister Mitrasarman, too, made a foundation for Siva Mitresvara; the Rajah of Lata named Kayya founded the holy Kayyasvamin.

The holy Kayya Vihara which was a marvel was also founded by him where, in course of time, there arose the Bhiksu Sarvajnamitra who was comparable to Jina.

The Tuhkhara Cankuna, the founder of the Cankuna Vihara founded a Stupa lofty like the king's mind as well as gold images of the Jinas.

By Isanadeve, his wife, was constructed a pond the water of which was limpid like the nectar-juice and restorative of health for invalids.

of his tent upon him. This incident, though ascribed to the curse of a Brahmin, may well have been the action of one of his disgruntled subjects.

There was not a township, no village, no river, no sea, no island where this king did not lay down a sacred foundation.

During the reign of the Karkota dynasty Kashmir enjoyed great power politically being twice the overlord of the whole of northen India. The kings were usually worshippers of Siva or Vishnu. Under this dynasty Kashmir not only maintained but even increased its renown for learning. It was always an ambition of Indian Pandits to conquer the Pandits of Kashmir, as is evident from Shakara's visit to the temple of Sarda. The aborigines of Kashmir were called Damaras. The upper classes of the population were the three Aryan Castes—Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas. The Brahmins, of course, were as a class ministers of religion and Government officials. The Sarda character descended from a western variety of the Gupta, first appeared in about 800 A.D. in Kashmir and the North East Punjab and has maintained itself in Kashmir since.

Avantivarman (855-883/884 A.D.) who belonged to the Utpala dynasty flourished in the ninth century. He was the most sagacious king. He built temples at Avantipura, the place named after him since his time. His Minister Surya

also built Harpur. His court was proud of the two famous poets Ratnakara and Anandvardhana. He was a staunch Vaishnava. During his reign the price of shali (unhusked rice) fell from 200 to 36 Dinnars (the Roman Denaris). It is about this period that we read of a great engineer named Suyya who drained the valley and reclaimed waste land. Suyyapur or Spore commemorates his name even upto this day. When this great engineer was working at Sopore and no workers were forthcoming to plunge themselves into the rushing water, the king ordered that a part of the treasury may be thrown into the water, on seeing which the workers turned up. Thus was the great engineer's scheme worked out. Avantivarman died at Tripuresa. He was succeeded by his son Shankaravarman (883-902 A.D.) For some time he was engaged in a civil war with his cousin Sukhavarman. He maintained an army of nine hundred thousand foot, 300 elephants and one hundred thousand horses (total nine lacs). He was a great conqueror and spent a lot of his time in submontane expeditions.* But he was avaricious and often revelled in gambling and debauchery. Oppression and fiscal exactions were not rare. Forced labour was common. He went on an expedition to Hazara and in a sudden quarrel with its people a random arrow pierced his throat and he died on the way.

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*All that e accomplished was an invasio.ı cf the neighbouring valley of Kangra an l the nortn of Punjab.

His son Gopalavarman (902-904 A.D.) ruled under the regency of his mother Sugandha. He was killed by the minister Prabhakaradiva.

Partha (906-921 A.D.) came under the influence of Tantrins whom he paid heavy bribes. His reign witnessed the execution of Sugandha, a flood and a famine. The Tantrins deposed him in favour of his father Nirjitavarman (921-923 A.D.).

His child son Cakravarman (923-933) witnessed a revolution raised by the Tantrins in favour of his half-brother Suravarman I (933-934 A.D.) He was also deposed and Partha put in his place. Partha was again succeeded by Cakravarman in 935 A.D. Sambhuvardhana whom Tantrins sold the crown got the throne in 935-936 A.D. The Tantrins* were defeated by the Domaras at Srinagar in 936 A.D. Sambhuvardhana was executed. The king proved very cruel. He married women of the disposed Dohma caste and raised their relatives to high positions. The Domaras murdered him when he was reclining on the arms of his Dohma Queen. Unmatavanti, (937-939 A.D.), son of Partha, was a cruel king. He destroyed all his relatives. Partha who was living on charity was also one day murdered by the king who was his son. At last he died of consumption. Suravarman II was crowned by Unmatavanti

*This tribe like Praetorian guards of Rome made a good deal of noise and for sometime became virtually king-makers. They held the same position as did Janizaries.

in the year 939 A.D. The commander-in-chief of the forces defeated the child-king but the Brahmins whose consent he wanted voted against him. Yasakara (939-948 A.D.), a Brahmin, was finally chosen for the crown. He had a great legal acumen and ruled mildly.*

* The following anecdotes about this king may be read with interest :—

His own wisdom and power of penetration were simply wonderful. He at once went right to the bottom of a thing however intricate and obscure it was and decided it most equitably. Once a man was brought to him who was going to commit suicide by starvation . Asked why he was bent on taking this extreme course he said...."I was once a wealthy man but, in course of time, became very poor. I contracted debts and my creditors used to trouble me. I then thought that I should clear off my debts by selling my property and then go abroad. So I sold my house. I, however, retained a well for which I used to get rent from gardeners and that I did not sell, retaining it for the sustenance of my wife. I then went abroad and returned with some fortune a short time ago. When I arrived here I found my wife eking out a miserable existence by working as a maid in a man's house. I enquired from her why she had become a maid when I had left means sufficient for her maintenance and she answered that, directly I had left, the merchant, who had purchased my house drove her away from the well, saying that the house had been sold by me together with the well. I had recourse to law courts but they dismissed my claim. I am, therefore, going to put an end to my life." The king summoned the judges and the merchant to himself and inquired into the matter. They showed him the deed of sale in which it was clearly written that the man had sold his house together with the well. But the king doubted this in his heart. He, however, ceased talking on this subject as though he had been fully satisfied on seeing the deed, and diverted his councillors' attention by discussing other matters and at

He constructed Mathas and started endowments for students and general public respectively. He chose Varnala as his successor. He died of poison at his Matha. His son Kshemagupta (950-958 A.D.) was very sensual and

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last began to examine the jewels that they wore. In doing so he took out the ring from the merchant's finger, pretending to see how it was. He then retired to another apartment on a pretence telling them all to wait till he came back. From the other apartment, he secretly sent a man with the ring to the merchant's house, instructing him to show it to his accountant so that he might be recognised as the merchant's messenger and to tell the accountant that the merchant wanted the daily account book of the year in which the deed had been executed for producing it before the court and that he had been sent to fetch it at once. The man went and, on showing the merchant's ring to the accountant, got from him the daily account book. When the book was brought the king examined the date on which the deed had been executed and found among other items of expenditure, an entry of 1,000 Dinnars paid to the official registrar. A small sum was payable as registration fee and the payment of high fee plainly showed that the registrar had been bribed, as *so* (together) had been interpolated in place of *ra* (without) in the deed. He showed it to his councillors and to the registrar and everyone was convinced of forgery. Then he had, not only the well, but also the whole house together with the property of the merchant, given to the plaintiff and exiled the defendant from the country for his cheating.

On another occasion when the king was about to take his food, it was reported to him that a Brahmin in great distress wanted to see him. He called him and inquired what he wanted. The man told him.... "I had gone abroad and was now returning to my native land. I had 100 gold coins with me tied in the knot of my clothes. I slept last night at Lawantosa underneath a tree by the roadside. In the morning when I got up the coins got loose

vicious. He built Kshemagenirishwars out of plunder. Kshemagupta married Didda, daughter of a king of Lohara named Sinharajà who possessed energy and political sagacity.

Queen Didda* ruled from 980/81-1003 A.D. She was the grand daughter of Bhima, Shahi king of Kabul. On the death of her husband

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of the knot and fell into a well nearby. I was sobbing at this loss when a man told me that if he brought it out how much I would give him. I told him I had no power over this property and whatever seemed right to him, he might give to me out of it. He descended into the well and brought out the coins , but he gave me only two coins and openly retained for himself 98. When I remonstrated against this and appealed to the people who were assembled there, I was frowned out by all, being told that in your region all transactions were carried out in strict pursuance of the letter of an agreement". The king consoled the Brahmin and made him partake his food and next day summoned the man from Lawantose. This man related the whole matter precisely as had been reported by the Brahmin, saying that he had kept 98 coins in accordance with the Brahmin's own stipulation. The king adjudged 98 coins to be returned to the Brahmin and only two coins to be given to the man who had brought them out of the well. "Had the Brahmin's words," he declared, "been ....'whatever you give, let that be given to me' the transaction, as had been made, could be revoked but his words were .... "whatever seems right to you, you may give me." The right and reasonable amount to be restored to the owner was 98 coins and the amount to be given for wages to the man who brought them out was 2 coins."

*It was not an easy job for a woman to rule a country which was a hot bed of intrigues then. It may be admitted that she was spoilt by Tunga into whose hands she played.

she is said to have removed all male scions from the family. She had enough of diplomatic tact but she was fickle also. She raised Tunga, a herdsman, to high office who ultimately became the queen's paramour. An expedition against Rajouri was sent under the leadership of Tunga. She was succeeded by her nephew Sangramaraja (1003-1028/9 A.D.), the founder of the Lohara dynasty in Kashmir. In his reign began the final conquest of Hidustan by the Muslims. Tunga who was at first popular became unpopu-ular later. Mahmud Ghazni's invasions of Kashmir in 1015 and 1021 A.D. are the only important events of his reign. Sangrama Raja sent some help to Trilochanapala, Shahi king of Kabul, against Mahmud Ghazni. The Hindus sustained a defeat in the battle fought by him in 1021 A.D. with the aid of Kashmir troops. Trilocanpala fled from place to place and probably his son Bhima also whose end is recorded in 1027. But his other sons or cousins, Rudra-pala and others, remained in Kashmir under the protection of Sangrama who was probably their relative. Tunga was at last murdered at the instigation of the king.

Next came Anantadev 1029-1039/1028-1063 A.D. He married Suryamati, the younger daughter of Trigarta, king of Indracanda. He was a weak administrator but he had a wise counsellor in his Queen.* They were ill-treated

*She gave him wholesome advice in times of difficulty and piloted the state affairs with caution.

in their old age by their son and Ananta died in grief. The Damaras under Tribhauna were routed. The king also beat back the Dards and the Mlecchas.* The queen built the temple of Sadasiva. Kashmir had a busy trade with India. One Haladhana of very humble origin rose to the position of prime minister. The king abdicated in favour of his son Kalsha Dev 1039-1073/1063-1089 A.D. Like so many of his line he also proved a weak king. There arose a conflict between Ananta and Kalsha in 1076 A.D. Ananta retired to Vijyeshwara with the State treasury. Kalsa turned out a vagabond, set fire to Vijyeshwara and got hold of the treasury. Ananta was enraged and committed suicide in 1081 A.D. and Suryamati died as a Sati. This turned over a new leaf in the character of Kalsha. He helped Sangramapala of Rajapuri. With the help of Vamana and Kandarpa he consolidated his kingdom and improved internal administration. About eight rulers paid homage to him in 1087-1088 A.D. Again he became licentious and died at Martand in 1089/1073 A.D. His son Utkarsa was an injudicious prince. He was thrown into a prison where he committed suicide. According to another version Vijayamala raised a rebellion in favour of Harsha against Utkarsa who was de-

*The invasion by the Turks assisted by Dards was brought into Kashmir by a treacherous Saıdar. By the valour of the Shahi Princes and of Anantraja himself this forbidable force was utterly defeated and Kashmir was saved from being subjected to Muslim rule for about 200 years more.

feated and killed in battle in 1089. Harsha Dev's reign lasted from 1089-1101 A.D. (He is not the Emperor Harsha who ruled in India from 606-647 A.D.). Harsha had a powerful frame. He was beautiful as well as courageous but a bit self-willed. He was also a great patron of learning (science, music and art) and himself a scholar but greed, cunning and craft dominated his character. He was sometimes kind and liberal also. Vijayamala fled to Dardistan where he was killed by an avalanche. Conquest of Rajapuri and changes in dress are two improtant factors of his reign. He executed his half-brother Jayaraja in 1095 A.D. and Dhamata with his four brave sons. He imposed oppressive taxes and demolished temples to meet the expenses of his pleasures. This is not all. He also committed acts of incest with his own relatives. The expedition against Rajapuri was not successful. In 1098 A.D. the king was defeated in an expedition aganist the Dards of Dud Khut. The year 1099 A.D. witnessed plague, plunder, flood and famine. The persecution of Damaras had a severe effect. Uccala and Sussala fled in 1100 A.D to Rajapuri and Kalinjar respectively. They both invaded but were repulsed. Their father Malla was mercilessly executed. The king's last days saw nothing but intrigues and rebellion. Harsha relentlessly persecuted the partisans of Vijayamala and misrule and oppression became so acute that Uccala*, a

*He moved incognito like the great Caliph Haran-ul-Rashid to discover unrest and distress.

collateral cousin, succeeded in leading a rebellion, defeating Harsha and taking possession of the Capiral. Harsha's queens burnt themselves in the palace while he himself took refuge in a Matha. His son Bhoja who had been expelled came to Kashmir to relieve him but was killed in a battle with Uccala. Harsha finding everything going adverse, rushed upon the soldiers who had surrounded the Matha and was killed. Kalhana's father Canapaka alone remained faithful to the king. Some maintain that he was cut off and burnt. This may be true but he died fighting like a hero and his death resembles that of the unfortunate Dara Shikoh of Moghal history. Thus ended the first branch of the Lohara Dynasty which ruled Kashmir for about a hundred years (1003-1101). His successor Uccala (1101-1111 A.D.) was a fairly energetic man.*

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*Once a law suit, between a merchant and his customer, which the magistrate could not decide, came to his notice. The facts of the case were that a man had deposited a lakh of Dinnars with a merchant. He subsequently took small sums of money from him from time to time. When twenty or thirty years passed, the depositor came to him and asked him to return the balance of his deposit that remained with him after deducting the amount actually drawn by him. The merchant, after deferring the payment for a long time, at last when the depositor persisted in his demand, showed him his account book in which were fraudulently recorded the following items which were, on the face of them, preposterous, fictitious, and false :—

100 dinnars paid for repairs to a shoe and a whip.
50 dinnars for ghee to be applied to a blister on the foot.

The king put down rebellion with a strong hand by following the policy of 'divide and rule'. He ceded Lohara territory to Sussala. But he had his faults also. He was jealous of other's merits. (That he reigned from 1111 to 1122 A.D. is disputed.) Sussala attempted an in-

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300 dinnars given out of pity by the depositor to a porter woman who was crying over her broken pots.
100 dinnars taken by the depositor for purchase of mice and fish juice to feed tenderly the kittens of a cat.
700 dinnars taken by the depositor for butter as an ointment for the feet as well as rice flour, ghee and honey on the occasion of the baths of the Shradha fortnight.
100 dinnars taken by the depositor's little boy for honey and ginger to be used to get rid of an attack of cough.
3000 dinnars taken by the depositor for the incense and onions presented to his gurus.

Other items which the merchant said, he had forgotten, as well as the interest on the whole sum advanced.

The merchant told the depositor that he would debit all these items to his deposit and pay the balance.

Uccala ordered the merchant that if any portion of the money was still with him he should produce it before him prior to his judgment. The money was brought and among the coins, he found coins of his own reign. But the deposit had been kept with the merchant when Kalsha (1091-99 A.D.) was ruling, twenty years before Uccala's reign had commenced. So it was evident that the deposit had been used for other purposes by the merchant. The king then declared his judgment, stating that the plaintiff must pay to the defendant interest on what he had taken from him from time to time uptodate and the defendant too must pay the plaintiff interest on the full lakh of dinnars from the time of its being deposited together with the amount of the deposit.

vasion but was repulsed. The king first brought up Bhitsacara (the grandson of Harsha) but then he had to take refuge in Malva. A conspiracy was formed against him by Chudda and his brothers and the poor fellow was murdered by the city prefect on the eighth of December 1111 A.D. Sussala (1112-1120 A.D.) was cruel & harsh. He imprisoned Salhana and Lothana. Garchandra, the king-maker, was first humiliated and then murdered with his three sons and one brother-in-law in 1118 A.D. The Damaras rebelled and defeated the king often. They installed Bhitsacara but he also proved sensual. Trade became dull and money scarce. Sussala (1121 1128 A.D.) again seized the throne. The civil war made the country very poor. (Jayasinha was nominally crowned but kept under surveillance.) He entered into a secret pact with Utpala, the treacherous agent of Tikka—a powerful baron—which led to the murder of the king in 1128 A.D. Jayasinha* (1128-1149

*Thus it happened that at this very time a son was born to King Sussala capable of delivering the earth from the catastrophe in which it was sinking. (1105 A.D.)

Commencing from the time of the child's birth the king achieved victory everywhere and so he was appropriately named Jayasinha—the lion of victory.

As owing to the realisation of all the desired powers Sarvarthasiddha is both an appropriate and the proper name of the Buddha so in the case of this king his appropriate appellation did not cease to have the conventional use restricting the name to him.

On seeing the mark which had manifested itself on the foot of the prince, king Uccala's displeasure towards his brother had disappeared.

It was this very mark on the child's foot which had

A.D.) announced general amnesty. According to Jonaraja, Jayasinha ruled five years longer. Utpala was captured and killed. Bhitsacara was routed and killed in 1130 A.D. Suja was murdered by the king in 1133 A.D. at the instigation of courtiers. Feudalism is an important feature of his reign. Bhoja surrendered himself to the king in 1145 A.D. In short, the king's whole reign was engaged in internecine wars.

The Lohara dynasty was a Rajput dynasty and thus in the 11th and 12th centuries, as elsewhere in India, there were Rajput kings in Kashmir also. The preceding dynasty of Parvagupta was a Vaisya dynasty while that which preceded it, viz. that of Yasaskara was a Brahmin dynasty. It may, however, be added that these two were also practically Kshatriyas as they married into Kshatriya families and followed Kshatriya life and ritual. The Lohara

removed the bitterness between the father and the uncle and had brought tranquillity to both the realms.

Thereafter, to acquire merit king Uccala erected a Matha, in the name of his father who had gone to heaven, on the site of his ancestral property.

By his gift of cows, lands, gold, wearing apparel, and grain on the great festive occasion the open-handed king became to all suppliants like the wonder-working wishing-tree.

Even mighty kings in distant lands were amazed at the presents of great value sent to them by the monarch whose opulence was the subject of praise.

*History cannot exonerate this ruler who fomented further intrigues the result of which was chaos and confusion in the whole realm.

ruling family is said to belong to the Bhatti clan of Rajputs and hence the Kashmir kings were probably Bhattis. It is thus clear that inter-caste marriages were order of the day in Kashmir in those times.

The Damaras in Kashmir were a turbulent local people who were always troublesome to the reigning king and helpful to rebels. "King Harsha ordered a slaughter of these Domaras; but they combined with two refugee princes and put an end to his life" (Punjab Historical Records Vol. II P. 81). Thus it seems that Uccala gained the throne with the usual help of powerful Damaras.

With a few solitary exceptions the ninth, tenth and twelfth centuries are described as full of hardships and misery. Short reigns, murders and suicides were a feature of this period. Anybody could rise to power and snatch the throne from his rival. History generally repeats itself. Even countries like France, Italy, Hungary and the Rhine passed through similar ups and downs. The whole period exhibits on a smaller scale how despotic kingly government always tends to abuse after a brief period of glorious exhibition of justice and valour, how degenerate and debauch kings succeeded highly vigorous and conscientious kings in the same line, how while power is borne with a great weight of conscience by some kings, in the hands of others it becomes the instrument of oppression and opportunity for licentiousness, how for some time able ministers under the firm guidance of

able rulers achieve great progress in administration, and how during another period unscrupulous ministers keep the country under their heel by bribery and terrorizing under incapable masters, how while under some kings an organised army is the means of securing peace at home and respect abroad, under others it becomes the defacto master of the State raising to the throne puppet after puppet, and how lastly the love of kingship sets father against son and son against father, not to speak of brother against brother and even mother against son and wife against husband. These and similar regular tendencies of despotic rule are fully exhibited elsewhere also at Rome, at Baghdad, at Delhi, at Cairo and so on.

Kalhana flourished in the twelfth century when Jayasinha was guiding the destinies of Kashmir.

Buddhism came to Kashmir when Sanskrit lore was in full bloom. Kashmir had produced eminent scholars and poets. They, of course, became its admirers, not adherents. The proof of this if a proof at all were required, lies in the fact that not a single Buddhist Vihara or Buddhist Monastery has survived to this day in Kashmir proper.

Buddhism disappeared from Kashmir by about 638 A.D. and stayed here for about nine centuries causing no change in the Sanatan Dharma. Shankaracharya the Missionary who once came to Kashmir waged a great war against it. There are many causes that led to its over-

throw. One is that eminent scholars appeared on the scene who revived the Sanskrit literature. Says Al-Beruni.

"The Brahmins do not allow the Vedas to be committed to writing because it is recited according to certain moderations. They, therefore, avoid the use of pen as it is liable to cause error. The Vedas are consequently often lost". He further says that not long before his time Vasukra, a native of Kashmir and a famous Brahmin, undertook the task of explaining the Vedas and committing them to writing, because he was afraid that the Vedas might be forgotten. "He has taken upon himself a task from which all shrink." Thus the Vedas were first written about 1000 A.D. in Kashmir for the purpose of commenting upon them by Vasukra. Vasukra, a small village near Sumbal in Kamraj, is probably named after this great Brahmin where Rup Bhawani, equally great Kashmiri female saint, later on settled herself for study as well as penance.

The Buddhist monarchs were great builders and architects. They built huge temples and palaces. Imagination is struck when one sees massive stones used in these buildings which have in some places survived to this day.

The city contained 36 lakhs of houses in the time of Pravarsen II.

The 10th and 11th centuries were parallel to Italy under Pope Alexander VI and Caesor Borgia.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF KASHMIR KINGS 601-1148 A.D.

1st DYNASTY (*Karkota*)

Durlabhvardhan 601–637 A. D.
Durlabaka 637–687 A. D.

Chandrapida 8 years.
Tarapida 4 years.
Lalitaditya 36 years.

Kavalayapida 1 year
Vijrapida 7 years.
Sangramapida 7 years
Jayapida 31 years
Sangrampida 7 year
Lalitapida

Jayapida

Utpalapida
Ajitapida

Anangapida

2nd DYNASTY (*Utpala*)

Avantivaraman 855–884 A.D.

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Sankarvarman 884–902 A.D.

|

Gopalvarman — Sangatvarman

MOTHER SUGANDHA REGENT 902–906–914

Minor kings of a collateral branch like Pangu, Chakarvarman. Partha ruled from 915–939 A.D.

3rd DYNASTY (*Viradeva*)

Yasakaradeva 940–948 A.D.

Sangramadeva 949.

4th DYNASTY (*Divira*)

Parvagupta 950–957 A.D.

Ishamagupta 958–972 — M. Didda Regent & herself 980–1003

Abhimanyu 973.

Nandigupta 975 — Tribhuvana 980 — Bhima

5th DYNASTY (*Lohara*)

1st Branch — 2nd Branch

Sangramraja 1004–1029 A.D. — Malla

Anantraja 1059 — Uccala 1111 — Sussala 1128

Kalasa 1073 — Jayasinha

(Ruling when Kalhana worte in 1148 A.D.)

Harsha 1101 — Utkarsha

Bhoja

Bhikshkara 1130.

CHAPTER VII

THE MUSLIMS

Mahmud Ghazni attacked Kashmir with a huge army of 'human locusts' over the Pir Panchal Pass in 1015 and 1021 A.D. He met with opposition both from man and elements and had to retire. The successors of Didda were able to save the kingdom of Kashmir from being swallowed up in the flood of Mohammadan conquest which submerged first the Punjab under Mahmud and later, Northern India under Shahab-ud-Din Ghori. When Sir V. Smith says that Kashmir was protected by its inaccessible mountains he is right. Mahmud Ghazni possessed great energy and spirit of command joined to a 'burning ambition and the temper of a zealot." He was a go-ahead conqueror. He caused great pillage wherever he went in India. Mahmud was no constructive or farseeing statesman but he was a great lover of learning. Had he taken hold of Kashmir it cannot be said what fate the previous civilisations would have met at his hands.

From 1295-1324-25 A.D. the throne of Kashmir was occupied by Raja Simha Dev. In his time came to Kashmir Shahmir* from Swat,

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*He was a grandson of Fur Shah, a famous hermit. This man traced his pedigree thus: Shah Mir, the son of

Renchen Shah* from Tibet and Lankar Chak** from Dardistan . They took service under the king and were granted Jagirs.***

Little could the king foresee that the very men whom he was harbouring in his kingdom with such kindness and traditional hospitality would one day overthrow his rule in Kashmir. He well played the host but the guests, untrue to their salt, returned his hospitality in a way of which very few parallels can be had in the world's history. In 1322 A.D. Zulfi Kadir Khan alias Dulch, a descendant of Changez Khan, the Terrible, came from Turkestan with a force of 70,000 cavalry and invaded Kashmir. He wrought havoc in the country and carried with him a booty of about 50,000 Brahmins and slaves who perished on the way of a snow-storm near a place called the Devasar Pass.**** Simha

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Tahir, the son of Ali, the son of Koershasp, the son of Nikodur, a descendant from Arjun, the Pandu, an infidel. Historians have dismissed this fantastic claim of such genealogy.

*He was a Tibetan Prince who had been defeated by his uncle.

**He was a ruler of Dardistan who was vanquished in a battle by his enemies.

***There is mention of invasions by Morco Polo and Mongol Nikodur also but nowhere are any relevant references available which could connect them historically with this country.

****The city of Srinagar was also set on fire by this barbarous invader.

Dev fled to Kishtwar* and Ram Chand returned and declared himself king but was soon killed treacherously by Renchen Shah and Shahmir who had intrigued against him when he was sleeping in his room. Renchen Shah became the most influential man in the court and he married Kuta Rani, daughter of Ram Chand. Being disgusted with the hostile attitude of the Hindus** he took a vow that he would adopt the religion of the person he would see early the next morning. It is said that the person whom he first saw the next morning was one Bulbul Shah who afterwards converted him to Islam. Renchen Shah (1325-1327 A.D.) assumed the title of Sadar-ud-Din. He persecuted the Hindus with a spirit of vengeance. This short sighted policy of the Hindus has often harmed the very cause for which they stand. He built Bulbul Lankar and Khankah. Renchen Shah

*The small hill state of Kashthavata (modern Kishtwar) was ruled by a Rajput family which was a dependent of Kashmir, as the name of a king, Uttamaraja of Kashthavata, appears among the names of those eight feudatories who attended on Kalasa, king of Kashmir, in 1807 A.D. The article of Hutchinson and Vogel in J. Punjab H.S. Vol. IV (P. 29-41) may be referred to on the subject. It seems that the first king Kahnapala who was sprung from the Suket family came to this part later and conquered it in about 1200 A.D. or thereafter. This state is now a part of Kashmir, having been conquered by the Sikhs in the days of Ranjit Singh. To what clan Uttamaraja's family belonged there is no material to detemine.

**They were headed by one Deva Swami in their protest against his admission to their caste.

died after ruling for about two years and seven months.

After his death, Udyandev (brother of Simhadev) returned and ascended the throne in 1327 A.D. He married the widow-queen and reigned for a period of about fifteen years.* In 1331 A.D. Urwan, a Tartar Chief, invaded Kashmir via Hirpur. The king fled towards Tibet** but the queen showed enormous courage. Shah Mirza who was the Prime Minister offered his hand to Kuta Rani but she refused. She also is said to have reigned for a period of about fifty days. Kuta Rani brought about her own death in order to escape from the cruel hands of Shah Mirza who seized the throne and declared himself king under the title of Shams-ud-Din in 1343 A.D. The full story of the tragedy runs like this :—

On Kuta Rani's refusal of Shahmir's offer he went and laid siege to her palace in order to compel her to accept his offer. The siege continued for a long time. The gallant Rani held out splendidly. At last tired and exhausted she decided to give way to avoid further bloodshed of her faithful servants. She sent a message to Shahmir that she would now accept his offer. Shahmir became overjoyed at this. A day for the marriage ceremony was settled. There were

*Shahmir served as Prime Minister under him.

**He died after reigning for 15 years and two months.

rejoicings in the whole country. The Rani wore a rich costume and precious ornaments.*

But Kuta Rani stabbed herself to death on his entering her apartment and called him a despicable wretch for cherishing the idea of marrying his master's widow who was thus his mother. He hardly ruled for about 4 years. Shams-ud-Din demanded one-sixth of the total land produce as revenue. He was not a bad king but he introduced his own era commencing from the date of coronation of Renchen Shah.

Ferishta says that Kuta Rani had consented, reluctantly though, to become the wife of Shahmir and to embrace Islam. This is an event which secured to him the country he had before nearly usurped. He further says that the second day after his marriage Shahmir imprisoned his wife and proclaimed himself king. This account does not look convincing.

Shahmir was succeeded by his eldest son Sultan Jamshed (1347-1348 A.D.).** His younger brother Ali Sher rebelled against him and defeated him near about Avantipura. Sultan Ala-ud-Din Ali Sher (1348-1360 A.D.) repaired

*The queen has set a noble example so far as character at least is concerned. There is no evidence available that Kuta Rani had embraced Islam. According to another account Kuta Rani and her two sons were thrown into prison by Shahmir where they died.

**He fixed land revenue at 17%.

many buildings and found Ala-ud-Dinpura.* His last days were marked by a great famine. He was followed by his eldest son Sultan Shahab-ud-Din (1360-1378 A.D.). He consolidated internal administration and subjugated almost all the neighbouring chiefs. During conquests abroad his forces gave a challenge to Feroz Shah Tuglaq. A treaty was signed and Shahab-ud-Din was recognised king of the whole territory from Sirhind to Kashmir. During the reign of this Sultan many a temple of the Hindus were demolished. His last days were miserable due to the divorce of his first wife and a severe flood which devastated corn fields. His brother Kutab-ud-Din (1378-1394 A.D.) was a patron of learning. The Chief Lohara (Loharkot) was killed during his contest against the king. Kutab-ud-Din** welcomed Hassan Shah to his court after the death of his father but when he rebelled the Sultan caught him and put him in a prison.

During his reign there came one Mir

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*About this period some Brahmins endeavoured to migrate to Kashgar. The king supposing it to be for the purpose of a revolt caused them to be seized and confined for life.

**Places of worship retained their sanctity. Shahab-ud-Din (1335-74 A.D.) refused to melt the brass image of Brihat Buddha and coin the metal into money.

Kutab-ud-Din performed a Hindu religions sacrifice and gave lands to Brahmins to avert a famine. Sikandar's birth is attributed to the efficacy of the magic pill of a Hindu Ascetic. He was married to a Hindu girl, Sri Sobha.

Syed Ali* from Hamdan and he engaged himself in proselytising. Conversions went on undisturbed for some time but force seldom kills the soul of a people.

Sikandar the Iconoclast** (1394-1417) A.D. has won some notoriety in the pages of history for persecution of the Hindus and desecration of their temples including those at Martand, Avantipura, Pandrethan, Ganeshbal and Bijbihara***. It is said that he was prejudiced against the Hindus by his minister Suya Bhat, a Hindu convert to Islam, and this may be correct but it does not exonerate the king from his prejudicial policy against Hindus. In his time Timur (1398 A.D.) invaded India but Sikandar evaded him by sending him rich presents.

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*According to certain accounts this was his second visit to Kashmir, the first being in the reign of Shahab-ud-Din (1360-1378 A.D.)

**He was Wycliff inaugurating Lollord movement in England, contemporary of Richard II, son of Black Prince of England and Henry W & V.

***In another place there was a temple built by Raja Bulnat, the destruction of which was attended with a remarkable coincidence. After it had been levelled and the people were employed in digging the foundation, a copper-plate was discovered on which was the following inscription according to Ferishta:—

"Raja Bulnat, having built this temple, desired his astrologer to say how long it would last. He was told that after eleven hunderd years, a king named Sikandar, would destory it as well as other temples." The king was surprised, though vexed that the Hindu prophet should have predicted the truth.

Nevertheless he was a strong ruler. The defeat of Rajmadri and the visit of Syed Mir Mohd. Hamdani are worth mentioning here. Sikandar was succeeded by his son Ali Shah (1417-1423 A.D.) He also was no tolerant of other faiths. He was a contemporary of Henry VI of England. In his time unrest and tyranny prevailed in the country and there was chaos. Life and property were unsafe. Hindus were put to great difficulties.

Zain-ul-Abdin alias Badshah (1423-1474 A.D.) The Tolerant reigned peacefully for a period of about fifty years.

"Wisdom and prudence in all that he did were revealed; The faculties' hoods seemed under his crown concealed."

He was a great monarch who loved his subjects well. He gave freedom of thought in religion to all. It was in his time that there came from the plains the Kaul and the Dar families headed by Pandit Maheshwar Nath Kaul and Mirza Pandit Dar. Their off shoots are still called Bhanamasis. Zain-ul-Abdin* was a great patron of learning and maintained good many scholars both Hindu and Muslim, at his court. Once he had a

* What respect Akbar won in the 16th Century, Zain-ul-Abdin had earned about a century earlier. Both commanded equal respect in their time.

quarrel with the poet Mulla Ahmad*. The poet was banished but he was soon recalled on writing a panegyric. Hindus gained great favour under him and got many offices in the state. Those who accepted offices came to be called Karkuns (official class) and the rest Bachabats (priestly class). The latter devoted themselves to religious study and the performance of Vedic rites. The two sections now form two distinct castes and do not still intermarry. He was also a great engineer and builder. He caused Nalla Mar (a canal) to be dug out. This was crossed by seven bridges at intervals. In the town of Naushera (founded by him) he constructed a magnificent palace twelve storeys high, of which each storey contained fifty rooms, each of which could accommodate five hundred persons at once. This huge building was called Zaina Dab. Zainagir, Zainapur, Zaina Pattan, Zaina Kundal, Zaina Math., Zaina Tilak, Zaina Gam, Zaina Kut, Zaina Bazar, Zainakadal on the Jhelum in Srinagar and Zaina Lank (now known as Sona Lank) are also attributed to him. That is not all. A great dam was built from Anderkot to Sopore which also served the purpose of a road. It is said that one day one of the princes while moving in a boat threw a pebble on an earthen jar carried by a Hindu lady from the Ali Kadal ghat. The prince suddenly swooned and the water did not fall

*In his time Mulla Ahmed Kashmiri translated Mahabharat into Persian and Uttha Soma wrote Zaina Charita. The indegenous university was known as Dar-ul-Alum.

from the jar. Was it due to some spiritual power ? The prince, however, was restored back to health at the request of the Sultan* which he made to the husband of the lady. Once when the Sultan fell ill it was Sheri Bhat who cured him. What remuneration would he not get from the Sultan but the pious physician got the Jazia tax abolished in favour of his Community. Two centuries later an English physician obtained a firman from Jahangir allowing the English a foothold on the Indan port to carry on trade. The octroi post called 'Sheri Bhatun Guzar' near about Vicharnag probably commemorated his name. Zain-ul-Abdin was the first monarch who introduced papier machie, carpet making, paper making, apples and pears in Kashmir. In war he was indefatigable. He conquered Tibet and the Punjab and spread his kingdom from Peshawar to Sirhind.** The Chaks set fire to Zaina Dab but they were flogged and driven back to the country of the Dards. Pandu Chak a feudal lord was shown much favour. Tradition says that a Hindu spirit had entered into his body

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*There is no doubt about the fact that the Hindus of that time were more religious minded and spiritually disposed. It is said that faith can move mountains.

**The Raja of Tibet sent a pair of birds caught on the lake of Mansarowar. They were excessively beautiful and possessed the extraordinary faculty of separating particles of milk from water if they were mixed, after which they used to drink each separately. Badshah had an army of one lakh foot and 30000 cavalry.

which moved his feelings towards the Hindus.* Over and above he was just and merciful, but the civil war among his sons made his last days restless.

Zain-ul-Abdin read Yogavashishta. "The king administered punishment and reward to his subjects with due regard to their merits and watched over them with care as the husbandman watches over the crop, supplying water or keeping the field dry as may seem suitable. Tilkacharya (a Buddhist) was his prime Minister, Suyabhatta was Chief Justice and Daryabhan Home Minister. He himslef wrote a treatise on fire works.

In his time lived Janaraja and Srinara the historians, Karpurabhatta the physician, Ruppabhatta the astronomer, Ramananda the commentator and Yudhanbhatta the Vedantist.

Tsakadar, Karala, Avantipur, Shahkul, Lachmakul are among the other canals that he laid out. Silk worms were imported from Khurasan. Fire arms were introduced in 1466. Among his conquests are also included Sindh and Tibet.

Haji Khan alias Haidar Shah (1474-1475 A.D.) was a drunkard. He persecuted the

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*Sultan Zain-ul-Abdin zad khima dar khulde barin—*bahur shud tajo nagin bahur shud arso sama*—

.: As bahari tarikhash *ayan ba sar shudah audar jahan —Adl a karam ilm o'alam jah o hasham suth c safa.*

Hindus and desecrated their temples. Then followed Hassan Shah (1475-1487 A.D.) He did not trouble the Hindus very much. Having routed his uncle Bairam Khan, he attempted an invasion of Delhi at the instigation of the Raja of Jammu but Tartar Khan, the Delhi Governor, defeated the combined troops of Jammu and Kashmir. Fateh Shah came to the throne in 1489 A.D. He converted 24,000 Brahmin families into Islam. Whether it was by force or persuasion it is difficult to ascertain. Nature also applied her wrath against the Hindus. Nine thousand Hindus died on their way to Haramukh Ganga. The place where they perished is called Hap Radan (dead defile)*. The whole period from 1493 to 1554 A.D. is covered by wars of successions.

Disorder was rampant everywhere. Two comets appeared in Kashmir in the year 1533 during Mohammad Shah's reign. The appearance of a comet is an evil omen.

Bigotry on either side did impede progress but the fusion of two cultures and civilisations resulted in the reaction of a national spirit that is writ large on the forehead of a Kashmiri today who still holds the torch, in spite of caste or creed.

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*Az biyaban Kashida sar tarikh,
Ghul Gufta-"Tabahiye Panditan".

"Having lifted its head from the desert, the date was said by the will-o'-the-wisp.—"the destruction of the Pandits."

Mohammad Shah and Fateh Shah were at war with each other and each set fire to the city, simply for this that either of the two might have the consolation that his opponent would find it a waste if he ultimately succeeded to take it. In 1532 Humayun's brother, Kamaran Mirza, invaded Kashmir but was repulsed with loss.

Kashmir was at one time divided into three principalities, Nazuk Shah (1540-1551 A.D.) being pageant king over all. The death by conspirators of Mirza Haidar in 1550 is also mentioned.

A great earthquake in Kashmir destroyed the town of Jadra with most of its inhabitants (6,000 souls) which changed the course of the Jhelum at Dumpore (1554).

Sultan Haider invited Humayun to become king. The army refused and Humayun returned to Kabul.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CHAKS (1554-1586 A.D.)

The Chaks were unknown people. They came from the country of the Dards and resembled Marhattas. During Raja Simhadev's reign, as mentioned earlier, there lived a certain Lankar Chak who secured a job in the king's service. With the advance of time his clan grew in number and influence. The first Chak is said to have been born of a Kashmiri woman and an amorous demon. The lively pools of Trigam were their frequent haunts. "Raman Kan" are the arrows aimed by gods at them. There are other stories equally fantastic current about them in folklore. The Chaks were Shias. Ghazi Khan* (1554 A.D.) was the first ruler. He was a descendant of Lankar Chak. He converted a number of Hindus to Shia religion. About seven rulers of this line ruled upon the throne of Kashmir. They were petty kings, one and all, except that one of them founded Gulmarg**

*Ghazi Khan and his party, having overcome in the contest with Daulat Chak, deposed Ibrahim Khan of Kashmir, blinded him and put his brother Ismail on the throne. Daulat Chak was seized and his eyes put out by Ghazi Khan in 1555 A.D.

**Gulmarg used to be called Gaurimarg or the meadow of Gauri, wife of Shiva. Yusaf Shah who used

and another Hassan Chak, gave his daughter in marriage to Saleem, the future Jahangir. Akbar sent a huge army against the Chaks under the command of Mirza Kazim (the first invasion came under Raja Bhagwandas). He came through Rajouri and defeated the Chaks in 1586 A.D. Below is given a table showing the line of succession:

Ghazi Chak	1554-1563 A.D.
Hassan Shah*	1563-1570 A.D.
Ali Shah**	1570-1579 A.D.

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to visit the place during the hot season changed its name into Gulmarg (flowery meadow). Yusuf Shah and Habba Khatun's love romance is a poetic episode in the romantic literature of Kashmir. It was at her suggestion that he founded centres of learning. Habba Khatun was a peasant girl who later bacame queen. Her tomb is still at Pandrethen. In 1951 Kashmir paid a glowing tribute to her memory.

*Ghazi Chak abdicated in favour of his brother, Hassan Shah, but repenting collected a force to dethrone him. This being dispersed without an action, the old king was compelled to retreat to Zainpur—1563.

Khannuz Zaman, the Prime Minister attacked the palace. His scheme for sovereignty being frustrated he was subsequently executed in—1565.

The king blinded his nephew and rival Ahmad Khan in 1566. Feuds arose in Kashmir between the Hanfia and Shia sects—1568. Akbar sent an embassy to Kashmir, but executed the ambassadors on their return for instigating the murder of a certain holy man. He also refused to marry the daughter of the king who soon after died of grief—1569.

**The king received an embassy from Delhi and proclaimed Akbar, Emperor of Kashmir—1572.

Yusaf Shah*	1579-1580 A.D.
Syed Mubarak Khan	1580-six months and two days.
Lohar Shah	1580-1581 A.D.
Yusaf Shah**	1581-1585 A.D.
Yakub Shah***	1585-1586 A.D.

Internecine wars were a special feature of this period which covers about one-third of the century. None of these kings attempted any constructive programme. The Chaks would employ any means, fair and foul, to get revenue. What they had inherited they delivered to the great Moghul. The fall of the Dynasty was inglorious indeed and it eclipsed their meteoric rise to power. Magre and Tsak, the former natives and the latter domiciled foreigners, made a bid for power until the coming of the Moghuls.

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*Ali Shah was killed by a fall from his horse. His son, Yusaf Shah, fled to Hindustan on account of revolts—1578. Akbar sent a force to re-establish the king on the throne of Kashmir. Lohar Chak, the rival ruler, was blinded—1579. Certain nobles became disaffected, assembled in Tibet and marched on Kashmir but were seized and the leaders mutilated—1580.

**Yusaf Shah, hearing of a proposed visit of Akbar, according to Ferishta, wished to escort him to Kashmir but was prevented by his nobles. He was given a small Jagir in Bihar. Akbar deputed a force to conquer the country. Haider Chak was defeated—1584.

***Akbar sent another force to which the king submitted. He was enrolled among Akbar's nobles and Kashmir became a province of the Moghul Empire. The king's father was detained at Delhi—1586.

The only thing they could do was to allow Shias to gain some influence. People as a whole remained as backward as before. With the Chaks, however, closed the independence of Kashmir. Even Kashmir prevented subjugation of the country by Tughluqs. According to Abul Fazal it is inside causes that brought success to Akbar, denied even to Babar and Humayun. Lalitaditya had warned Kashmir rulers against raising troops from a single district.

CHAPTER IX

THE MOGHULS.

The Muslims of India had grown effecte. The Empire of Delhi had disappeared. The king's writ was no longer supreme. It was the time of the little princes, the Muluk-at-Tawaif. Babar who had failed in his native home came to India and founded a kingdom. To Kashmir he sent his sepoys in 1494 A.D. (according to one account) but they appear on the pages of Kashmir's history as meteors who flash across the darkness of the night and are gone. Mirza Haider of Auritapa and Sikandar Khan of Kashghar (1532 A.D.) are also said to have invaded Kashmir but could not secure a footing.* Humayun also tried his luck but did not succeed. At last the throne of Kashmir lapsed to Akbar in 1585 A.D.

Akbar, the Guardian of Mankind (1556-1605 A.D.) was a contemporary of "Queen Bess" of England. After centuries of unrest and op-

*Kashmir had been attacked from the side of Ladakh by Mirza Haider 1541-51 A.D. (the author of the Tarikh-i-Rashidi) in 1532 and again invaded from the south in 1540, and ruled by him (nominally on behalf of the Emperor Humayun) until his death eleven years later—Imperial Gazeteer.

pression he restored peace to the country. His is the noblest figure among Muslim Monarchs who ever shone on the throne of India.* He built the Hari Parbat Fort and the city of Nagar inside the huge wall that runs round Hari Parbat. Akbar brought his Finance Minister named Raja Todar Mal with him to Kashmir. He fixed his camp at Pattan, measured the whole land and settled the revenue. The labourers** who were employed in the con-

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*Even such an Emperor as Akbar does not eclipse the sweet memory of Zain-ul-Abdin in the annals of Kashmir. According to Lt. Newal, Akbar introduced *pheron* and *Kangri* to make people effeminate. He visited Kashmir in 1588 and 1596.

**The number amounted to about thirty thousand porters or coolies. This anecdote shows that marriage was officially encouraged then and wages were paid to labour on socialistic basis, more or less. The author of 'Ayeen Akbary' writes: "His Majesty has made three journeys to Cashmere via Pirpanchal. If an ox or a horse be killed upon these mountains, there immediately ensure a tempest with snow and rain. Although Cashmere is populous and money scarce, yet a thief or beggar is scarcely known amongst them. The inhabitants chiefly live upon rice, fish and vegetables, and they drink wine. In their cities and towns there are neither snakes, scorpions nor other venomous reptiles. Here is a mountain called Mahadev, and every place from whence it can be seen is free from snakes but the country in general abounds with flies, gnats, bugs and lice. The Cashmerians have a language of their own but their books are written in the Sanskrit tongue although the character be sometimes Cashmerian (usually Devnagara). They write chiefly upon Tooz (Bharjapatra) which is the bark of a tree. Formerly they knew only the Hindu sciences but now they study those of other nations. The most respectable

struction of the new city were paid at the rate of six annas a day if married and four annas if unmarried. Akbar* maintained an army of 4,822 cavalry and 92,400 infantry. He visited the country three times. In his time Kashmir yielded a revenue of about one crore. Akbar was a man of great energy and constant occupation, capable of immense and prolonged effort and fond of all manly exercises. On a campaign he was indefatigable. Himself a great thinker, he also respected the sentiments of others. He abolished Jazia and other abominable taxes imposed by the Muslim sovereigns upon their Hindu subjects and gave high posts to the Hindus.

Akbar was succeeded by Jehangir the Great Moghul 1605-1627 A.D. He was a prince of luxurious taste. He built Shalimar, Chishma Shahi, Naseem and Verinag which stand to this day. He considered it bad taste to stretch a carpet on the green ground of the Valley. But

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people of this country are the Reshees (Rishi) who revile not any other sect and ask nothing of any one. They abstain from flesh and have no intercourse with other sex. The Hindus regard all Cashmere as holy land. The Revenue was 74,67,00,411 Dams (Khirwar-29 Dams) out of which 9,01,663 Khirwars and 8 traks were paid in money and were equivalent to 1,20,22,183 Dams. The revenue fixed by Asaf Khan is 30,79,543 Khirwars out of which 10,15,330½ Khirwars are in money. The army consists of 4,892 cavalry and 92,400 infantry. The eastern division is known as Maraj and the western division as Kamraj".

*Akbar called Kashmir his private garden.

he abandoned himself to voluptuous ease, to 'Wein, Weib, Und Gesang". Well goes the saying. "He that diggeth a well, he that buildeth a fountain and he that planteth a tree is pleasing to the everlasting." Jehangir was a just monarch and the 'fabled bell' verily belongs to him. Death overtook him on his way to Delhi . When Jehangir was dying he was asked if he wanted anything. He replied "Only Kashmir"*.

Az Shah-i-Jahangir dame naza chu justand
Ba khwahish-i- dil guft ki Kashmir digar hech.

History records that the Raja of Kishtwar was brought to knees in 1620 A.D. by Jahangir's armies.

Once the Hindus of Kashmir complained against (Qulich) Kulbah Khan (1606 to 1609 A.D.) to Emperor Jahangir.** He sent to him a warning in the following words in Persian :—

"Hakumat Panaha. Dadkhwahani tu-bisyar, shukrguzarani tu kam, abi sabah bar labi tashnagan bire warnah as hukumat barkhez."

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* He sang—

Agar firdaus bar rue zamin ast,
Hamin ast o hamin ast o hamin ast.

** Franscisco Pelsaert of Antwerp gives as orry picture of Kashmir during his reign.

"O protector of administration; thy complainants are many, thy thanksgivers are few, pour cold water on the lips of the thirsty, or else get away from the administration." The Governor was dismissed for not heeding the warning.

Some maintain that Ahmad Beg Khan the Governor was an evil star for Kashmir (1615-1618 A.D.).

Shah Jahan the Magnificent (1627-1658 A.D.) was made of the same mettle as his father. He added immensely to his father's grandeur. The Moghuls were Muslims of a noble breed. There are many instances to show how just and also how tolerant they were towards other faiths.

"He ruled upon the Peacock Throne and spread hands of command from Balkh to Himalaya."

Shah Jahan also visited Kashmir many times.*

Zaffar Khan (1633-1640 A.D.) abolished many taxes such as tax on saffron, tax on wood and poll-tax on sheep and boatmen. Ali Mardan Khan (1642 A.D.) was credited with the possession of the philosopher's stone with

* He recited the following couplet—

Khurd gandam adam az jounal kashidaudash birum
Mau ki khurdam ash-i-jau yarab be kashmiran rasan.

whose help he built up serais on the Pir Panchal route.* It was during his time that Muslims, headed by one fanatic Khawaja Mam, set fire to Pandit Mahadev's house and also slew a large number of Brahmins. When this report reached the Emperor Shah Jahan he was very much incensed and the offenders were punished. An expedition was appointed during Ali Mardan Khan's time (1650-1657) to proceed from Kashmir to Tibet to subdue a rebel, Mirza Jam, and to capture Fort Skardu. Tibet was annexed to the Delhi Empire on August 15, 1651.

Writes Mr. M.R. Qanugo in the journal of Indian History for April 1929 :—

"In Kashmir Shah Jahan changed the Hindu names of places into Islamic and destroyed some Hindu shrines. In the month of Rabi-Ussani-A.H. 1044, when the Imperial standard reached the neighbourhood of Bhimber Pass at the foot of the Kashmir hills, His Majesty learnt that the Muslims of this place, owing to their primitive ignorance, gave their own daughters in marriage to the Hindus and also took wives from them. There was an understanding that Hindu women married by Muslims were to be buried and Muslim girls married by Hindus to be burnt according to Hindu custom after death. The Emperor who is the Shelter of the Faith ordered that the Hindus who married Muslim women must be compelled either to

*It was only a foot path then.

renounce infidelity or to part with their Muslim wives. Jagu, a Zamindar of these parts from whom these despicable customs had originated, through the Grace of God and out of fear, at the desire of His Majesty, with all his kinsmen accepted Islam and was honoured with the title of Raja Daulatmand". Even as it is it looks incompatible with Moghul sense of justice.

Aurangzeb the Man of no Tastes (1658-1707 A.D.) undid what his father had done. He was a contemporary of Charles II, James II and William III*. George Foster who visited Kashmir in 1783 A.D. talks much of the atrocities committed by Aurangzeb. He says that the Emperor extracted three and a half lakhs of rupees and the Governor who collected this sum took twenty lakhs for himself. It is possible that a Governor on the spot did things which were not approved by the Emperor and often it proved so.

While Aurangzeb was reigning in Delhi, a sage named Pir Pandit Padshah** (so says the tradition) had fascinated people here. The Emperor was alarmed at this. He summoned

*There are different versions available about Aurangzeb which simply baffle the student. He was indeed religious minded and he did not harbour good feelings about those who did not profess his faith. According to others he did only what his conscience dictated him to do.

**Some writers maintain that Rishi Pir lived in the time of Jahangir.

him to his court. The Pir's spirit went to the court through air and appeared before him in a terrible form mounted on a lion. The Emperor was horrified and Pir Pandit was no more annoyed.* Aurangzeb visited Kashmir once in the year 1663. Three thousand coolies were employed from Bhimber to Kashmir and they received ten crowns for every hundred pounds of weight they carried.

Saif Khan (1664-1667 A.D.) introduced innovations in the form of new exactions such as (*a*) assessing the revenue by the actual measurement of land in place of the old practice of making a rough eye-estimate based on guess, (*b*) taxing the people to make good any loss or damage to things ordered from the province by the Emperors (Casuri-i-farmaith), and (*c*) change in or deduction from men's salaries due. During his second viceroyalty he promoted agriculture by planting colonies and building a city. Mubarez Khan (1667-68 A.D.) was a good natured but indolent man and his Uzbek retainers shamelessly oppressed and ill-treated the people wounding and killing all who resisted them. Muzaffar Khan (1690-1692) and his brother, Abu Nasar Khan, (1692-1698) both sons of Shaista Khan, enriched themselves by levying illegal cesses, in addition to realising their legitimate fees with the utmost rigour. Fazal Khan (1698-1701 A.D.) in addition to being a patron

* This is only a tale and cannot therefore be taken as historically true because no historian has mentioned it.

of scholars and holy men, built many mosques, schools, pavilions, sarais, embankments and gardens etc. He was the first to introduce the Kashmiris to the Emperor's service and he also remitted many cesses of former times such as hasil-i-ghalak (tax on earthen jars), nimak (salt duty) and damdari tax on bird catchers. During Ibrahim Khan's viceroyalty 1701-1706 there occurred a civil war between the Shias and Sunnies in 1684. Aurangzeb on hearing of these occurrences, removed Ibrahim Khan from viceroyalty and ordered the Sunni captives to be released. Iftikhar Khan (1671-1675) won a lot of notoriety by unnecessarily torturing Hindus and the following account will throw light on his policy*.

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*The following is briefly the account recorded in Gurmukhi in the Guru Khalsa Twarikh by Bhai Gyan Singh Gyani in its part III, page 1354, and also in the same language in the Suraj Parkash by Bhai Santosh Singh Gyani (in the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh) in its part I Chapter X.

"Under the commands of Aurangzeb, Iftikhar Khan was using torture towards the Pandits in Kashmir and was forcibly converting them to Islam. He also used to seize pretty Panditani girls and make them over as gifts to the Musalmans for their harems. Some pious men among the Pandits then decided to go to Amar Nath and invoke mercy of Siva there for deliverance from the tyrannies of this bigot. At the Amar Nath Cave one of the Pandits saw Shiva in a dream who told him to go to Teg Bahadur, the Ninth Sikh Guru, in the Punjab and ask for his help to save the Hindu religion. He spoke to his companions about this revelation. About 500 Pandits collected and proceeded to Amritsar and thence to Anandpur where Guru Teg Bahadur

The long roll of natural calamities during the half century of Aurangzab's reign includes two earthquakes (1669 and 1681), two conflagrations

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was living. They told him about the terrible atrocities committed on them by Aurangzeb's Governor, Iftikhar Khan, in Kashmir. The Guru was deeply touched on hearing the details and was in a sorry and pensive mood. At that time his son, Guru Gobind Singh, who was then a child of nine years of age, and was playing outside, came to him. He saw a crowd of Pandits sitting there in distress and his father mute as a fish. Guru Teg Bahadur, pointing towards the Pandits, told his son mournfully that these Hindus were being forced to renounce their religion and that, he thought, they could be protected if some holy man offered himself to be sacrificed for them. Guru Gobind Singh, with folded hands said to him "Father who else is a holier man, fit for being sacrificed than yourself for saving Hindu religion? It is, you know, the foremost duty of a Kshatriya to give his head for rescuing the cow and the Brahmin." Guru Teg Bahadur told him "I have absolutely no hesitation in giving my head but I am grieving that as you are a child of nine years only, who would take care of you after me?" Guru Gobind Singh replied earnestly "Almighty God would take my care." Guru Teg Bahadur was pleased to hear this courageous answer from his worthy son and then advised the crowd of Pandits to go to Aurangzeb and tell him straight-way that they, together with all the Brahmins in Kashmir, were quite ready to embrace Islam if Teg Bahadur, who was the Chief Guru of the Hindus, would first be converted. The Pandits went to Nawab Zalim Khan, the then Governor of Lahore, and presented to him their petition which had been dictated by Guru Teg Bahadur. The Governor gladly endorsed it and gave it back to the Pandits for presenting it to the Emperor at Delhi. He gave them all necessary help for reaching the place of safety. They went and presented the petition to Aurangzeb. The Emperor was highly gratified to read it, as he thought that the mere conversion of one

of the capital (1672 and 1676), one flood (1682) and a famine (1688). The conquest of Greater Tibet whose ruler, styled Daldal Mamjal in the Persian chronicles, bowed to Islam, caused

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man would automatically accomplish his design. He called the Qazis and Maulvies in a Durbar and joyfully announced the contents of the petition to them. Of course they all received the tidings with acclamation. He told the Pandits that he cheerfully accepted the condition laid. He sent them back to Kashmir, making suitable arrangements for their return journey. He wrote to Iftikhar Khan, Governor of Kashmir, to desist from forcible proselytising, for, he said, he was now satisfied that no more force was needed for attaining the object in view.

"Aurangzeb sent a letter by an official to Guru Teg Bahadur at Anandpur, inviting him to come to Delhi. Before the Imperial Officer reached him, the Guru, accompanied by five attendants, started for Agra on 11th Har 1732 (24th June 1675 A.D.) At Agra he was arrested by the Kotwal there and sent to the Emperor at Delhi on 1st Maghar 1932 (15th November 1675 A.D.) He had an interview with the Emperor. The latter pressingly solicited to him to embrace Islam. The Guru had words with him roaring emphatically that he spurned the idea. The Emperor, thereupon, being off the hooks, wrinked his brows and ferociously ordered the executioner to take the Guru to a place to be beheaded there. While taken to be put to death, the Guru quietly told one of his five attendants, Bhai Jita, that after he was beheaded, he should take away his head to Guru Gobind Singh. On 13th Maghar 1732 (27th November 1975 A.D.) Guru Teg Bahadur was beheaded. Bhai Jita steadily took away his head. He cut a ran. When he neared Anandpur Guru Gobind Singh went forth to meet him and, bowing reverently, received his father's head. In the turban bound round the head was found a paper with the following words written thereon:

coins to be struck and the Khutba read in the Emperor's name and built a mosque in his capital (1666). In 1683 when the Black Qalmaqs invaded his country he begged the aid of his Suzerain. An Imperial force sent from Kabul under Fidai Khan (the son of the Kashmir Subedar Ibrahim Khan) drove the Qalmaqs out, re-installed the Lama and returned in triumph with much booty.*

Bernier visited Kashmir in 1664. He says that Begari rate was Rs. 20/- per 100 lb. weight. Elsehwrere he writes—"The people of Kachamire are proverbial for their complexions and fine forms. They are well made as the Europeans. The women especially are very handsome and it is from this country that nearly every individual when first admitted to the court of the Great Moghul selects wives or concubines that his children may be whiter than the Indians and pass for genuine Moghuls".

The interval upto 1753 A.D. does not look

"Sari-khud dadam magar sar-i-Khuda na dadam, meaning that he had given his head but not God's secret (*i.e.*, religion). The head, which wore the glorious crown of martyrdom, was duly cremated. Guru Gobind Singh being intensely grieved at the ferocity of Aurangzeb in killing his innocent father, took a solemn vow to avenge his death by taking to arms and embarking on a crusade to free the country from the Muslims." It is this canker which free India is killing.

*This normal conquest of Greater Tibet was a great achievement for Aurangzeb.

very important. The Moghul prestige deteriorated gradually during Aurangzeb's successors.

In 1720 A.D. Mulla Abdul Nabi alias Muhta Khan* who was the Sheikh-ul-Islam of Kashmir gave instructions to the then Governor, Mir Ahmad Khan, to treat the Hindus harshly but the honest Governor refused. Muhta Khan then excited the Mohammedans against the Hindus. Muhta Khan was later on beheaded by one Sayid Azhar Khan in a Shia's house which resulted in the massacre of the Shias also at the hands of Sunnis. Mulla Sharaf-ul-Din succeeded his father as Sheikh-ul-Islam.

Abdul Samad, the fifth Governor, came from Lahore with a huge army in 1722 A.D. He put Mulla Sharaf-ul-Din to death and in one excursion from Naid Kadal to Khwaja Yarbal he got about fifty rebels executed. He removed all the restrictions that were placed on the Hindus. There was justice again in the land and the poet sang :—

Haka an Samad phutrun zin.
Na rud kuni Sharaf na rud Kuni Din.

"Samad (horse) came swiftly; there remained neither Sharaf (cardinalship) nor Din (bigotry) anywhere."

During the Governorship of Abdul Samad

*Muhta Khan and Mir Ahmed Khan following a common faith are nevertheless contrasts.

Khan (1720-1723 A.D.) anti-Hindu disturbances broke out in Kashmir, instigated by Mahbub Khan 'Abdul Nabi' which ended in riot and pillage and in which Mahbub and others were killed—1720.

Abdul Barkh Khan was at war with his officials. Each party set fire to the city which resulted in the destruction of 20,000 houses. This happened in Dil Diler Khan's time (1735-1738).

Fakhr-ud-Daula was deputed by Nadir Shah as Governor of Kashmir but Ati Ullah Khan (1739-1741) supported by his councillors opposed him destroying 15,000 houses of the city and suburbs.

It is recorded in an account that seven hundred and seventy gradens were laid out by the Moghuls in Kashmir alone. There is no doubt that they beautified every spot that came to their notice and Kashmir reacted very well to their feelings. They did not only love Nature. They had a fine sense of art.

Their route to Kashmir was Gujrat—Bhimber—Shopian.

Ab–ul Fazal writes—"But the bane of this country is its people. Yet, strange to say, notwithstanding its numerous population and the scantiness of the means of subsistence, thieving and begging are rare. They are artificers of

various kinds who might be deservedly employed in the greatest cities. Although Kashmir has a dialect of its own, their learned books, are in the Sanskrit language. They have a separate character which they use for mss. work and they write chiefly on *tuz* which is the bark of a tree. The majority of the narrow minded conservatives of blind tradition are Sunnis. The most respectable class in this country is that of the Brahmins who notwithstanding their need of freedom from the hands of traditions and custom are true worshippers of God. They do not loosen the tongue of calumny against not of their faith nor beg nor importune. Saffron is also cultivated in Paraspur. Although 1/3 had been for a long time past the nominal share of the State, more than two shares are actually taken what has been reduced now to 1/2. The revenue amounted to seven crores 46 lakhs 70411 dams—(Rupees 18,66,766-4-5)."

CHAPTER X

THE AFGHANS

The Afghans came in 1753 A.D. under the leadership of Ahmad Shah Durani.* Once again Kashmir fell from the frying pan into the fire and became subject to the tyrannical rule. This period, says Lawrence, was a time of brutal tyranny, unrelieved by good works of chivalry or honour. The whole period was a period of cruel reign and anarchy. Flagrant tyranny was common everywhere.** About twenty-eight Governors ruled upon the throne of Kashmir. Raja Sukh Jiwan became Governor in 1754 A.D. as it was during his reign that the Hindus enjoyed some respite. He was defeated by Nur-ud-Din Khan Bamzai in 1762 A.D.

Lal Mohammad Khan (1766 A.D.) prosecuted the Hindus against all canons of chivalry. Khoram Khan was an unbiassed Governor. He treated the Hindus well.

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*As under the imperious Duchess in Alice in Wonderland, the standing order of the day was "off with their heads."

**The nobles of Kashmir wrote to Ahmad Shah in 1747 to annex Kashmir. Whenever Kashmir was conquered by an outsider it was with the connivance of the people, otherwise not.

Mir Faqir Ullah Kant (1767 A.D.) took it into his head that since his father was killed and possibly at the hands of a Hindu he should take a heavy toll. Naturally he killed some and converted many to Islam. Khoram Khan (1770-71 A.D.) second time quelled a rebellion which had occurred in Kashmir. Haji Karim Dad Khan (1776-83 A.D.) punished the entire Kant family for intriguing against him with Raja Ranjit Dev, the Raja of Jammu.

Azad Khan (1783-85 A.D.) invaded Poonch with his troops which he plundered for a week. He was succeeded by Madad Khan (1785-86 A.D.) and there is a well-known proverb 'Zulmi Azad ra rasid Madad' which means that Madad out-Heroded Azad. In those days any Muslim who met a Hindu would say to him, "Butta chhuk to khosa dita" (you are a Pandit and I will mount you).* In the time of Abdul Ullah Khan (1796-1807) Shah Shuja of Afghanistan marched to Peshawar for the conquest of Kashmir but he was recalled by Barukhazai rebellions—1805.

Obviously this looks an exaggeration but Muslim writers have also admitted their atrocities.

A Hindu named Dila Ram Kuli won favour of Haji Karimdad Khan and was appointed Dewan. Pandit Nand Ram Tiku, a renowned

*This looks an exaggeration but Muslim writers have also admitted these atrocities.

Kashmiri Pandit, became Prime Minister of Kabul during the Governorship of Mir Hazar Khan (1793-94 A.D.). For some time his name also appeared on the coin issued from Kabul. Zairam Bhan, a poor but sagacious Pandit, rose to the position of Dewan (under Nasir-ud-Mohammad). Abdullah Khan is said to have amassed one crore of rupees within six months of his Governorship which he took to Kabul. However bad the times were, the Hindus did exhibit their worth to the world and that under the patronage of their masters.

The curse of this period was that the Governors were not faithful to their masters. They always remained on the look-out to seize an opportunity when they would declare themselves independent. The result was that few constructive measures were contemplated and fewer still carried out. Says the poet :—

Khwast haq kin zamin-i-minarang
Chun dile nai shawad ba Afghan tang
Kard bar wai Musallat Afghan ra
Bagha Jamshed Dad dewan ra

"It willed God that this paradise-like land
Should become miserable like the heart of
(Hukka) pipe with Afghan (or gurgling noise)
Caused Afghans to overrun it
Gave away the garden of Jamshed to demon

This is another aspect of Afghan character.

Even the so called heretic in their eyes could rise to the highest rung of the ladder.

According to Dr. Sufi, Moghuls and Pathans discountenanced military service for Kashmiris. Elsewhere he says that Brahmins, Shias and the Bamhas were not treate dproperly (Kashmir—pages 677, 699). They sometimes cut off heads for plucking flowers.

> "Sar buredan pesh in sangeen dilan gul chidan ast."

CHAPTER XI

THE SIKHS

Abdullah Ullah Khan (1796-1807 A.D.) was defeated by Sher Mohammad of Kabul at Dwabgah. The latter appointed his son Ata Mohammad Khan as Governor of Kashmir (1807-13 A.D.) Ata Mohammad imprisoned Shah Shuja and afterwards entered into a league with him. They both were defeated by Sher Mohammad Khan who got help from the Sikhs on promise of an annual tribute of eight lakhs of rupees. But they outwitted Mohammad Khan and conspired with the Sikh General, Dewan Mukham Chand.

Shah Shuja promised to surrender the famous Koh-i-Nur and Ata Mohammad the fort of Attock. He thus struck a double bargain. Wazir Fateh Mohammad Khan appointed his brother Sardar Azim Khan as Governor of Kashmir (1813-19 A.D.) He refused to pay the annual tribute and even defeated the Sikh squadron in a battle. Azim Khan went to help his brother who was engaged in war at Qundhar, leaving Jabbar Khan (1819) behind to rule in his place. He compelled the Hindus to celebrate the Shivratri festival in the month

of Har instead of in Phagan.* This was at last a demonstration of despotism. Pandit Birbal Dhar** fled to Lahore and sought help from the Sikhs. Ranjit Singh's*** army had made two attempts so far but had failed. The sagacious Pandit promised them success. His wife had committed suicide while his daughter-in-law was seized and sent to Kabul. To avenge this insult he planned this scheme. The Sikhs came over the Pir Panchal.**** Their army consisted of 30,000 strong. A decisive battle was fought at Shopian in 1819 A.D. in which the Pathans were routed. Man and horse fell before the onslaught of the victorious and it almost came to a panic among the Afghans.

Ranjit Singh was a great general though illiterate. He was always ready with a short and decided reply to any report read out to him. His memory was excellent and he seldom forgot a thing. His only eye was quick and searching. He possessed acute and lively imagi-

*It is inconceivable to think that there was snowfall in this month of the year considered to be necessary for the ceremony by the orthodox Hindus as popularly believed.

**This Pandit could change the history of the country. Naturally he looms large in local annals for his intellectual feat. According to Vigne he was jailed by the Sikhs who were not favourable to him.

***Ranjit Singh's first invasion through Panchal Pass in 1814 had failed.

****Attacks via Tosha Maidan by Ranjit Singh and Mohmud Ghazni had failed before. It is through this route that Hieun Tsang visited Poonch in 633 A.D.

nation. In action he was always collected. He was not without faults. In youth he was liberal while in old age he became persimonious. Moorecraft visited Kashmir in 1822 A.D. He gives a gloomy picture of what he saw. There is no mention anywhere that Ranjit Singh ever visited Kashmir.

The Sikh Governors were hard and rough masters. Every shawl was taxed 26 p.c. upon the estimated value. A Kotwal had to pay Rs. 30,000 for office*. If a Sikh killed non-Sikh he was fined from 16 to Rs. 20 out of which Rs. 4 were paid to the survivors of the killed. Kirpa Ram (1827-31) was nick-named 'Kirpa Shroin' (shroin being word for the sound of the boat paddle) so fond of boating he was. He is also said to have introduced crows to Kashmir thought to be necessary for the due performance of funeral rites.** In 1831 A.D. a serious famine broke out in Kashmir which caused immense loss to the country. Some people even fled to the plains. In 1843 A.D. came the Bamhas under the leadership of Sultan Zabardast Khan. He was caught and imprisoned in Srinagar. To avenge this Sher Ahmad, the daring Bamha, destroyed seven thousand Sikhs at Kahori and marched with 8,000 match-locks against Kashmir and defeated Imam-ud-Din with an army of 12,000 strong at Shilbal. Thereupon Zabardast

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*These statements are refuted by some writers.

**In his time the country yielded a revenue of Rs. 25 lakhs.

Khan was delivered back. This war weakened the Sikh hold in Kashmir. In the same year Mohi-ud-Din opened the gates of Jama Masjid which had been closed since 1819 A.D. The famine of 1831 A.D. was closely followed by a great flood. A big earthquake* and cholera broke out in 1827 A.D. which swept away bulk of the population.

The line of Emperors who proceeded from Babar's loins are no more. The Afghans and Sikhs also have disappeared. The Msulims were, as a general rule, short sighted people deadly opposed to time-honoured institutions other than their own. Had they adopted a policy of toleration and respected the sentiments of the so-called 'heretics', they would have become objects of reverence and admiration. Sikandar and rulers of his type grew to be the bugbears of the people. This is unfortunately in nut-shell the verdict of authentic history about some Muslim rulers in Kashmir. With all this the Hindu did not give up his study, however much to penury he was reduced. He learnt the Persian tongue better than its pioneers. The Muslims sometimes appreciated the merit of Hindus. Instances have been quoted showing how the Hindus often rose to high power only through merit. Says the author of 'Emerald Set with Pearls,' "These eastern potentates had some magnificent qualities and in some cases their administration

*In Srinagar 1,200 houses were destroyed and 1,000 lives lost.

was superior to our own." The population of Kashmir in the present day is about 17,28,705* and nearly 90 out of every hundred are Muslims. Nine hundred years ago there were no Muslims north of the Punjab. The Sikhs, on the other hand, were neither too good nor too bad but internal dissensions among the Sirdars brought about their early fall. It is true that the people under them would have been none the better because they were only a martial class first and last with little vision to organise and to expand. In spite of about a quarter century of power in Kashmir the Sikhs did not expand beyond the valley. They were divided like the Highlanders of Scotland.

*These figures are taken from the Census Report of 1941.

CHAPTER XII

THE DOGRAS

GULAB SINGH

Gulab Singh, the founder of the Dogra dynasty of Jammu and Kashmir, was born in 1972 (5th Katik 1949, Bikrami Samvat)*. In his early days he lived under the personal care of his grand-father Zorawar Singh in his Jagir Dyawago. The future ruler of Kashmir received little education but he was trained in all manly arts. He could ride his horse and wield his sword.

After the invasion of Mohamad-ud-Din Ghori the Rajput hegemony in the hilly tract between Punjab and Kashmir was shattered. The Rajput rulers who held sway around the town of Jammu regained their independence when the Moghul Kingdom began to show signs of disintegration. They were combined under Raja Dhrou Deo and his son Raja Ranjit Deo. The latter received a jagir from the Durrani king for help rendered against Raja Sukh Jewan of Kashmir in 1730 and ruled for 44 years.

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*Dogras are a people who reside between Chenab and Sutlaj, originally between Chenab and Ravi. Agni Varmon is the first known Dogra Raja who ruled at Parole in Kathua District.

Ranjit Deo had two sons, Brij Lal and Dulel Singh. Brij Lal revolted against his father and later succeeded him in 1780. Mohan Singh who is known to history as the brother of Ranjit Singh was a sworn friend of Brij Lal but he conspired against him and attacked Jammu. Thus the sovereignty of the House of Dhrou Deo over the surrounding country disappeared for the time being.

Gulab Singh is descended in direct line from Raja Dhrou through his third son, Mian Soorat Deo. Cunningham doubts the genealogy of Gulab Singh. But Maharaja Ranjit Singh, in his grant of the Raj of Jammu to Gulab Singh, mentioned the fact of Gulab Singh's ancestors having been the rulers of the principality. Raja Dhrou Deo was a Rajput prince of the Surya Vansi (Solar) dynasty who ruled over Jammu in the eighteenth century.*

The affairs of Jammu being in confusion Ranjit Singh ordered in 1808 Bhai Hukam Singh to annex Jammu to the Sikh State. It was in this battle that young Gulab Singh fought so well that he won admiration from the enemy even. Gulab Singh intended to go to Kabul to enlist in the army of Shah Shuja but later changed his mind and joined the army of Ranjit Singh in 1809 as trooper at Rs. 3/- P.M. in Mungla, west of Jhelum. Gulab Singh

*The earliest mention of Jammu in recorded histroy is with Timur's invasion in 1398.

fought many battles and the siege of Multan in 1819 brought him to Ranjit Singh's favourable notice. In the frontier campaigns of Ranjit Singh between 1815 and 1820, Gulab Singh played a prominent role. At this time the hilly area around Jammu was under the influence of Mian Dedo. Gulab Singh hit on a stratagem to subdue this bandit chief. His supplies were cut off and his fort attacked. Dedo was killed while fighting.

In 1820 Jammu was given to Gulab Singh in farm. Later on he was given the title of Raja and allowed to keep an army. In 1821 Gulab Singh undertook the conquest of Kishtwar and on his way received homage from Dyal Chand, Raja of Chenani. Next, Gulab Singh marched on Rajouri whose ruler Ajor Khan had given annoyance to Ranjit Singh in his expedition against Kashmir in 1813. It is in lieu of such services that Ranjit Singh granted to Gulab Singh and his successors the principality of Jammu with the hereditary title of Raja in 1822 A.D.

In 1841 Gulab Singh allowed passage of British army for invasion of Afghanistan which Ranjit Singh had refused at the time of first Afghan War.

Copy of the sanad granted by Ranjit Singh

"On this auspicious occasion with extreme joy and with heartfelt love, I grant to Raja Gulab-

Singh, in recognition of his conscientious and loyal service, the government of the Chakla of Jammu, which from time immemorial has been in the possession of his family. He and his brothers, Dhyan Singh and Suchet Singh, appeared in my court at a very early age and loyally and devotedly served me and the State. Their ancestors also served faithfully for a long time under my father Mohan Singh Ji of happy memory. They spared no pains to render their services to me promptly and submissively and to give me satisfaction. They have always been found faithful to me and loyal to the State. They have shed their blood freely in many campaigns, such as the conquest of Kashmir, the siege of Multan, the punishment of the rebels, the suppression of rebellion on the frontier and the fight with the forces of Kabul. In consideration of these and other services I grant the government of the Chakla of Jammu to Raja Gulab Singh and his descendants and I myself mark the forehead of this loyal and devoted servant of mine with the emblem of sovereignty. With great pleasure I also grant Raja Suchet Singh, the Government of Ramnagar to be his own and his descendants, as a reward for the great services he has rendered to me. He and his descendants may dispose of its income on their own account provided that the Rajas be loyal to the State henceforward as they have been till now, that they receive our descendants with no less honour and submission and that their descendants be as loyal to us as our descendants. In witness of this I grant this Purwana

of mine with my own hands together with a bunch of saffron."

Dated 4th Ashad, 1879 (Vikram).

At the age of thirty, this was indeed a proud achievement for Gulab Singh. Tibet was next to be invaded. But this campaign could not be successful. He and Hari Singh Nalwa repulsed an attack from Kabul in 1823. In 1827, Gulab Singh was the overlord in Jammu having conquered Reasi, Kishtwar, Rajouri and Samarth etc., except Poonch which belonged to Dhyan Singh and Ramnagar which belonged to Suchet Singh. The Illaqa being hilly and the people turbulent, Gulab Singh took great personal interest in the administration. He raised and kept in tact a reserve of money and trained and equipped an army. The death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh on 27th June, 1839, was followed by court intrigues and internecine strifes. In the Afghan war of 1841 the British enlisted the support of the Sikhs who were not in any way anxious to help them in their Kabul expedition. This provided an opportunity for friendship between the British and Gulab Singh.* On 19th January, 1842, the British force was beaten back at the Khyber Pass. In recognition of his services the British Government sent him an appreciative Kharita on 8th April, 1842.

*Gulab Singh obviously betrayed the Sikhs.

Gulab Singh was offered Jalalabad and was asked to give up Ladakh but this he did not accept. The murder of Dhyan Singh, Gulab Singh's brother, by Ajeet Singh in Badami Bagh Fort created further resentment in Gulab Singh against the Sikh Community. The uncle and the nephew, Suchet Singh and Hira Singh, came to grips in 1844 and this resulted in the death of the former. Then followed a dispute between Hira Singh and Gulab Singh. But Hira Singh died on 21st December, 1844. The Sikh Sardars combined to smash the "Ulysses of the Hills" but he averted an all-round attack. The Sikh army was defeated at Satwari on 3rd April, 1845.

The same year, war between the Sikhs and the British became inevitable for the Sikhs felt convinced that the British Government wanted to annex the Punjab. Gulab Singh who had counselled the Sikhs not to go to war with the British, remained neutral for a time. He was, however, persuaded to take charge of the Prime Ministership of the Sikh State on the 27th January, 1846. He immediately started negotiations with the British who were themselves anxious for a settlement. These negotiations failed when the British laid down the condition about the disbandment of the Sikh Army and the battle of Sobraon was fought on February 10, 1846. The British won, though at a huge cost. Gulab Singh again negotiated peace and secured a reasonably fair treaty for his sovereign Dhuleep Singh, who was recognised as ruler on his

ceding the territory between Beas and Sutluj and paying £ 15,00,000 as war indemnity. Gulab Singh's success in negotiating this treaty infuriated his rival Lal Singh who managed to get himself installed in his place. It was now that Gulab Singh realised the precariousness of his position. But Gulab Singh's opportunity was not long in coming. Lal Singh, his successor, in accepting the Treaty negotiated by him protested his inability to pay the indemnity of £ 15,00,000. To deprive Gulab Singh of his territory and give the British the option of holding Kashmir—an impossible feat at that time—or accepting a reduced indemnity, he offered to hand over Jammu and Kashmir. This resulted in a revival of the original proposal to make Gulab Singh the independent ruler of Jammu and Kashmir with this difference only that now he had to pay a sum of Rs. 75 lakhs (Nanakshahi). In Gulab Singh's accepting this proposition, the Treaty of Lahore was signed on the 9th March 1846, as originally negotiated by him.

> "In consideration of the services rendered by Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu, to the Lahcre State towards procuring the restoration of the relations of amity between the Lahore and British Government, the Maharaja (Dhuleep Singh) hereby agrees to recognise the independent sovereignty of Raja Gulab Singh in such territories and districts in the hills as may be made over to the said Raja

Gulab Singh by separate agreement between himself and the British Government with dependencies thereof which may have been in the Raja's possession since the time of Maharaja Kharak Singh and the British Government in consideration of the good conduct of Raja Gulab Singh who agrees to recognise independence in such territories and to admit him to the privilege of a separate Treaty with the British Government." This clause of the Treaty of Lahore concluded under force of circumstances cannot exonerate the betrayer.

On the 16th March, 1846, seven days after the Treaty of Lahore, Maharaja Gulab Singh signed the Treaty of Amritsar, by which he became the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.

The "sale of Kashmir" which is so much talked about is in reality, more a fact than a myth. Kashmir was simply sold to Gulab Singh. The situation is not clarified when it is borne in mind that the areas surrendered by the Lahore government between Ravi and the Indus were to be transferred to Gulab Singh according to clause 12 of the Treaty of Lahore with Maharaja Dhuleep Singh, then an independent ruler, before the Treaty of Lahore was signed because the bargain was struck by the Britishers for their ally. According to Pannikar "The cession of Kashmir was the price paid for Gulab Singh's efforts to bring about a speedy peace

which if he had thrown in his weight with the Lahore Durbar, would not have been an easy matter to achieve. The ease with which the peace was concluded was due to the agreement reached with Gulab Singh by which Kashmir had already been promised him.* " It may be that the British could not conquer Kashmir in 1845, much less hold it, with Sutluj as their boundary, Ferozepur as their base, a hostile Punjab on the line of communications and the Sikhs ready to fight. It is true that Kashmir was not a part of India in the eighteenth century, not even till Ranjit Singh occupied it. It was an Afghan Province. And in all schemes for the partition of the Punjab, there may have been many proposals for allotment of areas, not necessarily Kashmir, as that would also lead to consolidation of Afghan empire and thus be a perpetual danger to the British. The British wanted to divide up the Sikh Empire which would be a great menace if it extended from Multan to Gilgit. By snatching Kashmir out of it and passing it on to an ally the object was achieved, thus killing two birds with one stroke. Sir George Clark, Agent to the Governor-General at Lahore, wrote in March 1849 :—

"I have been under the necessity on more than one occasion of testing rather severely Gulab Singh's loyalty to us. My belief is that he is a man eminently qualified by character

*This is another instance of a stab in the back.

and surrounding territorial possessions for the position of ruler there, that all his interests lie on the side of friendship with us, that he will always desire and sometime or another may need our countenance of his authority against enemies. Their aggressions, whether Chinese or Goorkhas on one side of him or Afghans on the other, will be retarted rather than precipitated by his proximity to them in that form instead of our being in more direct contact with them." Why did Ranjit Singh himself create a Dogra kingdom, it may be argued ? He put off the Afghans. Lord Hardinge did the same for more cogent reasons.

Some do accuse Gulab Singh of treason against the Lahore Durbar and the death of Nao Nihal Singh caused by the fall of the archway was designed by him. Though incidentally he lost his eldest son Udham Singh (Randhir Singh). Lord Hardinge says, "Was he (Gulab Singh) not the Minister and were not four other Commissioners associated with him for settling the terms of peace?" Sir W.R. Lawrence says that when the second Sikh war coloured the map of the Punjab red, some regretted the transfer of Kashmir to the Dogra Chief. But in his opinion based on some knowledge of the possibilities of Kashmir it was fortunate that the English transferred it. Younghusband writes that the English did not annex Kashmir because they had not annexed the Punjab yet.

Cunningham is of opinion that the English

bargained with Gulab Singh. Mr. Sapru in his monograph No. 14 (Punjab Government Record Office Publication) pleads that the circumstances of the transaction fully justified it. "No one then imagined that the Punjab would become a British province in less than three years and it was deemed a good stroke of policy to weaken the Sikh Durbar by rewarding one who had been favourable to their own cause. Lal Singh wanting to get a dreaded rival out of the way, enabled the Governor-General to appease Gulab Singh in a manner sufficiently agreeable to the Raja himself thus further reducing the importance of the successor of Ranjit Singh." Sir Richard Temple also says that Lord Hardinge aimed to divide the Sikh power between the Lahore Court and Gulab Singh, and thus effectively weaken it. The Maharaja remained faithful to the British to the last.

A.P. Nicholson in his famous book "Scraps of Paper" referring to this question says :

> "We sold the right to keep it, if he could conquer it, to Gulab Singh."

In the "Life of Hardinge" appears the following account ; "It was necessary to ....to weaken the Sikhs by depriving them of Kashmir. The distance from Kashmir to the Sutluj is 300 miles of very difficult mountainous country, quite impracticable for six months. To keep a British force 300 miles from any possibility of support would be

an undertaking that merited a strait—waist coat and not a peerage. The arrangement was the only alternative. The Government took away with one hand and gave with the other as the exigencies of the case required." To Lord Ellenborough, Lord Hardinge wrote : "It was always intended that Gulab Singh whose troops had not fired a shot, should have his case and position fully considered......After the war commenced were we to abandon our policy and to treat the only man who had not lifted up his arms against us with indifference because he came to headquarters especially deputed by the Lahore Durbar to confer with us as one who had not joined in their unprovoked invasion ? His forbearance was rewarded because his forbearance was in accordance with an intended policy........"Again in a letter to the Secret Committee, the Governor-General wrote on March 14, 1846.

> "On the other hand, the tract now ceded included the whole hill possessions of Raja Gulab Singh and the Jammu family. Its possession by us enables us at once to mark our sense of Raja Gulab Singh's conduct during the late operations, by rewarding him in the mode most in accordance with his desires."

The treaty only transferred to him the legal title, as no actual possession over Kashmir was handed over to him. He acquired the territory for himself though he did so with the help of

the British. "Sold even a thousand times, Joseph is no slave."

"Their fields, their crops, their streams,
Even the peasants in the vale,
They sold, they sold all Alas !
How cheap was the sale"

—IQBAL.

Maharaja Gulab Singh despatched Dewan Lakhpat Rai to take possession of Kashmir but Imam-ud-Din, the then Governor, did not surrender and offered resistance. The Hari Parbat Fort was seized by him but subsequently the General was killed and his army was in imminent danger. Maharaja Gulab Singh* then applied to Sir Henry Lawrence for assistance in taking possession and when the combined forces of the Maharaja, the British Durbar and the Sikh marched against the Governor, Imam-ud-Din, he surrendered declaring that he had acted according to the written instruction of Lal Singh.** When Maharaja Gulab Singh came to Kashmir he found the land divided into three categories—one part under moun-

*Maharaja Gulab Singh entered Srinagar on the 9th November 1946, and reached Sher Garhi at 8 A.M.

**Brigadier Sheeler with Col. Henry Lawrence, the Resident, proceeded with troops to aid Gulab Singh. *Imam-ud-Din* stated that he was acting under instructions from *Lal Singh*, Wazir of Lahore, and afterwards surrendered to *Col.* Lawrence. His statement proving true, the Governor-General demanded the exile of Wazir Lal Singh.

tains, one part under water and the rest under jagirdars.

Gulab Singh belonged to the school of Napoleon burning with a desire to conquer. But his contemporaries were too formidable to allow him to extend his conquests beyond. He sought his game elsewhere and made war with the hill tribes on the frontiers. Wazir Zorawar Khlhoria who is believed to have led these campaigns has carved a name in the annals of Kashmir. He (Gulab Singh) conquered Ladakh, and Tibet in 1842, annexed Chilas in 1850 A.D. and subdued Gilgit in 1852 A.D. To conquer these hill-Rajas was no easy task. They had forts built everywhere. Their army consisted of people who were proof against any kind of hardship. To-day they were routed and tomorrow they would again make war and re-capture the lost places. They never appeared on the battlefield to kill or to die but like guerillas played "hide and seek" game. To fight such people was to do battle with the air or to give blows upon water. Gulab Singh who was a great soldier, showed sound knowledge and practical experience during his campaigns against the Frontier tribes. He was a great unifier and he welded together various patches of his kingdom. His encouragement of art and patronage of learning besides his grand personality and noble character raised the town of Jammu from a mere barrack to the first rank among the many stately cities of the Indian Empire. "Once Gulab Singh watched with in-

terest the construction of a bridge constructed by convict labour. One convict solicited the Maharaja for pardon. The offence was the murder of a girl for her jewels. The Maharaja was infuriated at this and he enhanced the sentence. While sitting in judgment the heir-apparent was ordered to be nearby. Once a complaint came that a hen was stolen. The offender was summoned and the barber was commanded to shave half of his moustache and he was paraded in the open bazar. This provided instruction for the Yuvraj in the administration of justice.*

He died of dropsy on 25th Sawan, 1914 (August 1858 A.D.) the year which witnessed the horrors of the Indian Mutiny and his death was marked by an earthquake. He was only 66 years old.

The tribes of Hazara rose in rebellion in 1847. At first it had not become possible to cope with it but subsequently it was suppressed. Gulab Singh thereupon asked the British Government to exchange Hazara with Mandi and Garhi. Hazara was assigned to Lahore and Gulab Singh got Kathua and Suchetgarh with part of Manawar. The boundary was further altered in 1847 under the supervision of the British officers, Cunningham, Strachey and Thomson. Poonch** which had passed on to

*He disarmed people and gave exemplary punishments to stabilise his rule.

**Poonch is 1627 sq. miles and is 3210 ft. above sea level.

Gulab Singh was given to Jawahir Singh, the eldest surviving son of Dhyan Singh. But soon after, he claimed a share in Gulab Singh's property on the ground that they were the joint family property of all the brothers. The claim was settled on 12th May, 1848, by Frederick Currie and Gulab Singh was declared as the rightful master. The claim of Chamba was further adjusted by the transfer of Bhaderwah to Gulab Singh and taking away Chamba from his territories.

In 1848, when the second Sikh war broke out, Maharaja Gulab Singh stood by the side of the British although he was approached by both Dost Mohamad Khan of Kabul and Sardar Chattar Singh to help them. The Sikhs were defeated again.

It was no easy job for Gulab Singh to look after an administration which had gone from bad to worse in the time of the Sikhs. The shawl industry* which was the main source of livelihood for the people was taxed very highly. Reckless governors had given away much of the land in the valley as rene-free concessions, forced labour told upon the peasantry, sati and infanti-

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*Kashmir was ever noted for Shawl, Shali, Shalgam, and Shikara. Shawl is a blanket of fine Pashmina wool. Its origin is referred to in Mahabharata when Dhritrashtra desired to present 18,000 arikam (shawls) to Krishna on his visit to the court of the Kurus as a Delegate from the Pandavas. Mir Syed Ali of Hamadan revived the Shawl industry which had long died out.

cide were common, robbers infested the hills. Nicholson records in his diary on 19th November 1847 :—

"Had some conversation with a party of Kabul merchants taking tobacco and snuff to Kashmir whence they intend returning with pattoo and tosh, which at last fetches a very high price in Kabul. They complained of the oppressive duties in their own and Maharaja Gulab Singh's territories but remarked that in the latter their goods were protected whereas they frequently ran great risks from the plundering tribes between Kabul and Peshawar." A number of men were determined in each village for begar and every man on begar duty was paid a khirwar of rice per month and given food. Another step which he took was to ration rice in the valley. This system of grain control was revived immediately after the first Great War. The re-organization of the shawl department or the Dagshawl received his attention next. The shawl tax was reduced, the Moulut (carrying accounts to the 14th month) was abolished and Chuttiana cancelled. The efficiency of his forces was always a matter of deep concern to him.

In 1851, trouble arose on the Tibetan frontier over the refusal of the zamindars of Ladakh to allow full transport to Western trade mission from Tibet. The dispute was settled by representatives of the Maharaja and the Dalai Lama.

There is no doubt that it was an uphill task for Gulab Singh to consolidate his dominion. A characteristic of his personality was that he was ready to listen to complaints. Even in a crowd one could catch his eye by holding up a rupee (as Nazar) and crying out, "Maharaja Arz Hai." He would jump down like a hawk upon the money and listen to the petition. Once a man shouted in the customary manner and then closed his hand and said, "No, first hear what I have to say". Gulab Singh did not lose patience, he heard the petition, and when the hand was opened, he gave orders about the case.*

Gulab Singh was a remarkable man of the nineteenth century. He began as a petty official and founded a kingdom. In the words of the French traveller, M. Jacquemont, "He was after Ranjit Singh the greatest lord in the Punjab." He knew tricks and stratagems. Opportunism was so near him that he always availed of it. Cunningham writes: "He must be judged with reference to the morality of his age and race and to the necessities of his own position. If these allowances be made Gulab Singh would be found an able and moderate man who does little in idle or wanton spirit, and who is not without some traits both of good humour and of generosity of temper." Major Smyth states, "With all this he was courteous and polite in demeanour

*This indicates clearly enough that he was very avaricious.

and exhibited a suavity of manner and language that contrasted fearfully with his real disposition." The present Jammu and Kashmir is his monument. "It is at once a memorial of that foul act when, like the arch traitor of old, we bartered innocent lives, which fate placed in our hands, for a few pieces of silver."

"Gulab Singh had agreed to pay 68 lakhs to his Paramount before the war broke out. He should have paid the deficient million of money as a Lahore subject, instead of being put in possession of Lahore provinces as an independent prince.

For purposes entirely selfish we deliberately sold millions of human beings into the absolute power of one of the meanest, most avaricious, cruel and unprincipled of men that ever sat upon a throne."

Mr. Lepel Griffins (Punjab Chiefs) says :—"There are perhaps no characters in history more repulsive than Rajas Gulab Singh and Dhyan Singh."

Immediately after the sale of Kashmir the British imperialists realised their mistake as the following quotation from Canon Tyndale Biscoes' Autobiography makes it clear :—

"Wazir to Lt. Urmston—but that order was for India, not for Kashmir.

Urmston-Now, watch my hand. He drew a red line right round the boundaries of Kashmir joining it to British India. This happened. in 1857." It is since that the British had eye on Kashmir, particularly Gilgit.

TREATY OF 1846 A.D.

Treaty between the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh, concluded at Amritsar, on 16th March, 1846

Treaty between the British Government on the one part and Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu on the other, concluded on the part of the British Government by Frederick Currie Esquire, and Brevet Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the orders of the Right Hon'ble Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., one of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Governor-General, appointed by the Honourable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East India, and by Maharaja Gulab Singh in person.

Article 1—The British Government transfers and makes over, for ever, in independent possession to Maharaja Gulab Singh and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country, with its dependencies, situated to the Eastward of the river Indus and Westward of the River

Ravi, including Chamba and excluding Lahol, being part of the territory ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State according to the provisions of Article 4 of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March 1846 A.D.

Article 2.—The Eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing article to Maharaja Gulab Singh shall be laid down by Commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh respectively for that purpose and shall be defined in a separate engagement after survey.

Article 3.—In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heir by the provisions of the foregoing Articles, Maharaja Gulab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of 75 lakhs of rupees (Nanakshahi), fifty lakhs to be paid on ratification of this Treaty and twenty-five lakhs on or before the 1st October of the current year, 1846 A.D.

Article 4. The limits of the territories of Maharaja Gulab Singh shall not be at any time changed without the concurrence of the British Government.

Article 5.—Maharaja Gulab Singh will refer to the Arbitration of the British Government any disputes or questions that may arise between himself and the Government of Lahore or any other neighbouring States and will abide by the decision of the British Government.

Article 6.—Maharaja Gulab Singh engages for himself and heirs to join with the whole of his military forces the British troops when employed within the hills or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

Article 7.—Maharaja Gulab Singh engages never to take or retain in his service any British subjects nor the subject of any European or American State without the consent of the British Government.

Article 8.—Maharaja Gulab Singh engages to respect in regard to the territory transferred to him under the provisions of Article 5, 6 and 7 of thes eparate engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, dated 11th March 1846.

Article 9.—The British Government will give its aid to Maharaja Gulab Singh in protecting his territories from external enemies.

Article 10.—Maharaja Gulab Singh acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government and will in token of such supremacy present annually to the British Government one horse, 12 goats (6 male and 6 female) and three pairs of Kashmir shawls.

This Treaty consisting of the above Articles has been this day settled by Frederic Currie Esquire, and Brevet Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the directions of the

Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General on the part of the British Government and by Maharaja Gulab Singh in person and the said Treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General.

Done at Amritsar this sixteenth day of March in the year of our Lord, 1846, corresponding with the seventeenth day Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1262 Hijri.

True to the very words of the Treaty of Amritsar, Jammu and Kashmir State has always stood by the Paramount Power in their hour of need.

"At the out-break of the Mutiny", says the author of "Letters from India and Kashmir," "the late Maharaja Gulab Singh, enjoined nay, ordered his son (Ranbir Singh) to proceed with all his troops to the aid of the British, an injuction promptly obeyed and the soldiers of Kashmir fought by our side at the siege of Delhi."

The Jammu contingent consisting of 2,000 Infantry and 200 Cavalry and six guns, under the political charge of Lt. Col. R. Lawrence, reached Delhi at a critical moment in the history of the Mutiny. The troops were Commanded by Dewan Hari Chand. His Highness the Maharaja also sent valuable cash contributions to the Government of India.

After this the Kashmir State troops fought side by side with the British troops in the various campaigns on the frontiers of India including the Tirah and the Chitral campaign .*

Brief History of Frontier Districts consisting of Ladakh, Baltistan and Dardistan

Ladakh.—The district of Ladakh consists of the following sub-division :—

Rukshuk, Zanskar, Lubre, Leh, Dras and Kargil. This district was formerly a part of Chinese Tibet under a Governor called Gyapu. Fa-Hian, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim visited Ladakh in 400 A.D. About 1687, it came under the nominal sway of the Moghul Emperor, but it was really in 1834 that Ladakh lost its independence for the first time. It was attacked by Sultan Sayed of Yarkand in 1538 A.D. and by Kalmakun in 1685 A.D. It came under Skardu twice in 1620 and 1720 —50 A.D. About the middle of the seventeenth century the ruler of Western Tibet who was at war with Chinese Tibet sought help from Shah Jahan. The Moghul army crossed the Indus at Khalatze and marched to Bazgo village. The Mongols who had encamped at Jargyal between Bazgu and Nemo were defeated in battle. In return for this aid

*The states were created and allowed to continue by the British as a buffer against any indigenous revolt.

Kashmir got the monopoly of Shawl wool trade. But after the return of the Moghuls the Mongols again attacked Ladakh and the King had to submit and pay an annual tribute to Chinese Tibet.

Maharaja Gulab Singh despatched Zorawar with a force for conquest of Ladakh in 1834 A.D. In the first skirmish the Ladakhis were defeated at Pashkyum but they again attacked the Dogras with an army of 15,000 near Langkartsa between Kargil and Suru. But this time they were completely routed losing 400 of their number and 200 who were taken as prisoners. The king of Ladakh submitted, agreeing to pay a war indemnity of Rs. 50,000 and an annual tribute of Rs. 20,000. While the Dogra troops were engaged in these operations, the Chief of Sod attacked a Dogra fort at Suru but Zorawar retook the fort and beheaded 200 insurgents.

Gulab Singh again despatched Zorawar from Jammu with 12,000 troops in 1841 A.D., to take possession of Lhasa. The Dogras reached Guhrak and defeated the Lhasa troops. On return to Mantalan they seized the fort of Gurbang and Parang by storm. But the Lhasa troops came back under Chhgjut, retook Gurbang and defeated the Dogras under Zorawar. Twenty-five soldiers only survived to tell the dismal tale. On hearing this Gulab Singh sent another force of 6,000 under Divan Hari Chand and Wazir Ratnu. They defeated the enemy at Kargil who lost 3,300 soldiers.

They then besieged Chamrah Gunpha where Bakshi Achhinjut and Karam Shah had concentrated themselves. The Generals surrendered and were brought as prisoners to Leh from where they escaped after nine days. But the Dogra force again pursued them till they were humiliated and brought as prisoners to Gulab Singh who had encamped at Nasim Bagh. The Maharaja pardoned them after concluding a peace treaty with Lhasa in September 1842, according to which Ladakh came permanently under Jammu and traders of Ladakh and Lhasa got the reciprocal concession of conducting trade freely in both the countries.

Baltistan.—The Rajas of this place are said to be the descendants of Sikandar of Kashgar. They were under the kings of Kashmir but in the time of Chaks they were independent. When the Moghuls came they again lost independence, which however, they regained under the Afghans. In 1837 A.D. Raja Ahmad Shah was at war with his son Mohamad Shah who got Tilel as Jagir from Col. Mian Singh, the Sikh Governor. During Zorawar's expedition Mohamad Shah was caught and taken as a prisoner to Skardu by his father. Thereupon Zorawar marched but restored it to Ahmad Shah on his paying a heavy war indemnity. When Zorawar was killed at Mantalan, Ahmad Shah rebelled again but was overpowered a second time by Divan Hari Chand who brought him as a prisoner to Jammu where he afterwards died. Mohamad Shah received an allowance

from the Maharaja at Skardu. It may be noted here that Baltistan consists of the following sub-divisions: Kharmang, Khaplu, Skardu and Rondu.

Dardistan—The district of Dardistan consists of the following sub-divisions:—Astore, Bunji, Chilas, Gilgit, Hunza, Nagar, Punial, Yasin and Chitral.

During the time of the Moghuls, Gilgit was under Kashmir but when the Afghans appeared it broke away. In the time of the Sikhs, its ruler Mohamed Khan was overpowered by Suleman Shah of Yasin. The latter himself was murdered by Azad Khan of Punial who declared himself the master of the country. Azad Khan was in turn killed by Tihar Shah of Nagar. Tihar Shah ruled for some time and after his death was succeeded by Gauhar Aman, son of Suleman Shah who then usurped the throne.

In 1842 A.D. Gulam Mohiddin, the Sikh Governor of Kashmir, sent troops to Gilgit under Nathu Shah and Mathra Das to help Karim Khan, brother of Sikandar Khan against Gauhar Aman who sustained a defeat and fled to Punial—Karim Khan then assumed the sovereignty of Gilgit. Nathu Shah who remained there married the daughter of Gauhar Aman to himself and the daughters of the chiefs of Hunza and Nagar to his sons.

Maharaja Gulab Singh appointed the same Nathu Shah as Governor of Gilgit in 1845, but the Chief of Hunza killed him together with Karim Khan for bringing two European Officers with him. Gauhar Aman, the Chief of Punial and Yasin, with the help of the people of Delel invaded Gilgit. Bhup Singh and Sant Singh, in command of Gulab Singh's garrison, gave a crushing defeat to Gauhar Aman. Soon after the sons of Gauhar Aman namely Mulk Aman, Mirwali, Mirghazi and Pahalwan Bahadur, assisted by Dards and Hunza people, held Bhup Singh into an ambuscade at the Niladar hill and massacred 100 of his troops and took 200 soldiers as prisoners who were sold as slaves after forcibly converting them to Islam. Only one woman escaped who crossed the Indus by holding the tail of a cow to tell this horrible tale at Bunji. This made Gauhar Aman again the sole master of Gilgit. In 1856 after his death, Maharaja Ranbir Singh despatched General Devi Singh with a large force to re-conquer Gilgit. The enemy fled away before this force and the whole district as far as Yasin was occupied again. The victorious General installed Uzmat Shah and Isa Bahadur as Governors of Yasin and Punial respectively.

In 1859 A.D., Gilgit was permanently annexed to Kashmir when Mulk Aman who had revolted again was given a severe defeat by the Dogra force under the command of General Hushiara.

Chilas and Delel were annexed in 1851 and 1866 respectively. Yasin was taken in 1859 and was subsequently ceded to the sons of Gauhar Aman with whom a Treaty of peace was concluded.

The Chiefs of Hunza and Nagar, though tributary to Kashmir, often gave trouble to Maharaja's garrison at Gilgit, but in December 1891, these two principalities were subjugated by British Indian and Kashmir Imperial Service Troops under the Command of Col. A. Durand, the then British Political Agent at Gilgit. When the Chinese were thrown to Rudok, a peace was signed between the Lhasa Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh in 1842, which reads: "We shall neither at present nor in future have anything to do or interfere at all with the boundaries of Ladakh and its surroundings as fixed from ancient times and will allow the annual export of wool, shawls and tea by way of Ladakh according to the old established custom."

RANBIR SINGH

Maharaja Ranbir Singh the third son of Gulab Singh, was born in the fort of Ramgarh in Sambat 1887/1829, some say at Ramnagar. His eldest brother Udham Singh was born on 27th Assuj, 1874/and died on 22nd Katik, 1897. His elder brother Randhir Singh alias Sohan Singh was killed in action in Sambat

1901. Maharaja Gulab Singh who was not keeping good health for some years before his death asked Ranbir Singh to look after the administration of the State and this enabled the Prince to equip himself for the duties which he had to fulfil as the ruler of Jammu and Kashmir State. About two years before his death Maharaja Gulab Singh himself gave Rajtilak to Ranbir Singh on the 18th Phagan 1912. According to Thakur Kahan Singh Billawaria, soon after his accession, three unsuccessful attempts were made on the life of the Maharaja in close succession by a band of intriguers. They were all punished in 1915 Sambat, when the intrigue was traced. Sir Richard Temple who had known Maharaja Ranbir Singh since 1853, A.D. when he paid a private visit to Jammu writes: "He was at that time 30 to 32 years of age. Handsome in face, with a very long moustache and a mien indicating high birth. His figure was small and his legs inclined to bend outwards but he rode and shot well." The author of the "Letters from India and Kashmir" wrote in 1870 A.D.:—His Highness is in person handsome and of a complexion—I know not how to express it with a more expressive epitheton than olive—an olive colour his face presenteth, fair for the people of his country with features of the Grecian type, nose and forehead a straight line and short black curly beard. His puggery of lawn with a lawn of gold tissue was relieved in colour by one scarlet gold. On his forehead was painted a yellow symbol with green centre that indicates the followers of Siva, and he wore

the Brahmanical cord, also a necklace of berries inlaid with gold resembling the rosary of Romanists and used for the same purpose. The rest of his dress was of white cambric and a ribbon of scarlet and gold lace across his breast, was his badge of authority.

Government and other agencies would get 20 traks (trak is 5 seers 3 chataks) and 6¼ seers plus 22½ chilkis (chilki anna is half company anna) upon 192 traks in Rabi crop and 21 traks and 13¼ seers plus 17¾ chilkis upon 142 traks in Kharif crop.

The revenue in kind was collected through Tehsildar, Thanedar, Kardar, Mokhdam, Patwari, Shukdar, Sazawal, Taruchdar, Harkar and Doom who all fleeced the zamindar (food-grower).

The following taxes were in force:—

House tax 4 to 20 annas.

Fruit tax 3/4 of the price.

Animal tax 2 to 3 animals a year from each village yielding 500 khirwars of grain (Khirwar is 16 traks=83 seers), 1 pony, 1 loi (blanket), 1/2 seer ghee for each milch cow, 1-10 fowls from each house, 2/3 of honey wherever produced.

Shawl tax–Rs. 47/8/- in 1867 or Rs. 18/12/- per cent for stamp at Dogshwal.

Marriage license fee Rs. 3/- license fee to purchase a girl for prostitution was 100 chilkis. Every nautch-girl paid 80-100 chilkis a year and was not permitted to marry.

Begar or forced labour was paid at the rate of 4 to 7 chilkis for double journey from Srinagar to Gilgit or Astor which involved a period of 24 days.

According to Robert Thorp (Kashmir Misgovernment—1870) Kashmiri character is exhibited in a marked degree in honesty and loving kindness.

Shali sold at Rs. 2/- Chilki a Khirwar (Chilki rupce is ten annas). It sold at half this price when Gulab Singh came.

Gulab Singh created a kingdom which the new ruler consolidated. He spent a considerable sum of money upon education and roads. In his time crime and drunkenness became almost unknown. The economic conditions were such that a rupee would buy 80 lbs of rice, 12 lbs of meat and 60 lbs of milk. Fruits grew in abundance and had little value.* But as Mrs. Bruce says, the year 1877 was a cruel time on account of a very bad season. Maharaja Ranbir Singh's

*This only indicates economic backwardness of country. Lack of communications was greatlty responsible for this. The average yearly income could hardly be Rs. 11/- per head.

Now Kashmir has 35000 acres of land under fruit cultivation. The annual export is about 440000 mds.

anxiety for improvement of the administration and the lot of his subjects is reflected in the talk recorded by Sir Richard Temple in his Journals. Sir Richard says: "I tried to hint delicately that, like all other places, Kashmir would benefit by increased care. The Maharaja said that he was conscious of many defects and that as soon as he had leisure from affairs at Jummu, he would go to Kashmir and introduce several reforms, adding that he felt himself responsible to God for the care of his peoples. He then went on to say that Kashmir's population did not increase as much as he hoped, that many of his people had emigrated and that much land was lying waste...............In the afternoon I went again to bid the Maharaja farewell. He told me that he was endeavouring to improve the judicial system and that he had Doctors of Hindu and Mohammedan law in the work." Rev. Robert Clark founded church Missionary Society in Kashmir in 1864 A.D.

During the reign of Maharaja Gulab Singh there was practically no change in the then existing judicial administration which was conducted by the Governors and other officials. The Maharaja himself could be easily approached by any of his subjects who sought justice at his hands. It must be remembered that Maharaja Gulab Singh had to devote much time in the consolidation and building of Jammu and Kashmir State and it fell to the lot of his son, Maharaja Ranbir Singh, to set up an administration. He divided the administration of the

State into three main heads: Daftar Nizamat, Daftar Diwani and Dafter Jangi*.

For the first time a Penal Code, containing 100 Sections only was published in Dogri characters**. At every Police station the Maharaja appointed an officer known as "Chakladar". This officer used to settle all petty civil and criminal suits.

An Adalat Sadar was created at Jammu and another at Srinagar. All cases of importance used to be decided by this Court. The Maharaja himself used to take keen interest in the administration of justice, which was very cheap. It only required a stamp worth annas eight for getting a case decided by His Highness. The Maharaja used to hold his Durbar daily. Describing the Maharaja's Darbar, Frederick Drew who saw the Durbar himself says:

> "It is when the Maharaja is sitting in public Durbar, holding open Court for the hearing of petitions that the Mandi has its liveliest appearance. For the morning Durbar he will take his seat at nine or ten o'clock beneath one of the arches of the arcade on the cushion which here answers for the throne, accompanied by his eldest son, and surrounded by his ministers, and with,

*It was one man's rule in whom were vested all powers, judicial as well as executive. Dogras made it feel that Kashmiris were a subject race.

**Kashmiri characters had receded into background.

may be, from fifty hundred other courtiers and attendants seated round against the wall, at distances according to the degree."

"Thus seated, then, and supported, the Maharaja looks out down on the petitioners who stand in the Square, which is some feet lower than the room. Each coming in succession according to their petitions, previously written on stamped paper and given in, are called on, stands in front with hands closed, in the attitude of supplication, while the prayer is read out. The subjects of the petitions are wonderfully varied; perhaps an employee will ask leave to return to his home, or to take his mother's ashes to the Ganges; next, may be a criminal is brought to receive final sentence; then a poor woman, with face veiled, will come to complain of some grievance or other or a dispute about a broken contract of marriage will have to be decided. These are all listened to patiently enough and on the simpler cases the decision is given at once and written on the petitions. The civil and criminal cases have usually been previously inquired into by judicial officers, in the courts of first instances, and perhaps have been adjudicated on by the Appeal Courts of Jammu or of Srinagar, but

it is open to the suitors and complainants to try their fortune with the Maharaja himself. The Maharaja does his best to find the truth, will examine and sharply cross-examine the witnesses. It frequently ends in his referring the matter to the magistrate for investigation in which case it will be again brought before him for final decision."

In Samvat 1848 (1891-92), a new State Penal Code called 'Sri Ranbir Dandh Bidhi" was compiled and issued.

The Jammu and Kashmir State Civil Courts Regulation of 1977 defines the powers of High Court, which was created the same year, as follows:—

> The High Court (Adalat-i-Alia) shall be deemed for the purposes of all enactments for the time being in force to be the highest court of appeal or revision, subject to the control and the judicial powers exercised by His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur. The general superintendence and control over all other Civil courts shall be vested in, and all such courts shall be subordinate to the High Court."

There were in all 25 courts of which 14 were Wazarat Courts. Besides there was a court in Srinagar called Adalat Dag-i-Shawl and a

Panchayat Court consisting of eight nominated members (four Hindus and four Muslims) to look after general welfare. There were also three courts at Ladakh, Gilgit and Skardu. Two Sadar Courts at Srinagar and Jammu heard appeals against Wazarat Courts. A Law Department under a Secretary was also established.

In the very beginning of his reign, the Maharaja had to devote much attention towards military activities. He supervised drilling of soldiers. In 1857, when Mutiny broke out, he led a contingent consisting of 2,000 Infantry, 200 cavalry and six guns to the aid of the British.* It was due to these services, says Young Husband, that his right to adpot from collateral branches an heir to the succession on the failure of heirs mala of Gulab Singh on whom alone the country had been conferred by the British was recognised. The Sanad was conferred in March 1862.

After the termination of the Mutiny, the Maharaja turned his attention towards strengthening his position in Gilgit. In 1860, he sent a force under Colonel Devi Singh, which reduced the fort built by Gauhar Rahman, who had just passed away. The forces then advanced towards Yasin and took it. After the re-conquest of Gilgit, Raja Isa Bahadur of Punial, who had incurred the wrath of Gauhar Rahman sought refuge at the Dogra Court and was re-installed in his old principality. At the time of his reinstalment, he acquired the territory of Ishkoman.

*The Kashmiris were disqualified for military service.

In 1865, disturbances which originated from Hunza, made the retention of Gilgit difficult again. The ruler of Chitral assisted the insurgents. Reinforcements were sent by the Maharaja and Darel Valley was occupied. The garrison was re-established at Gilgit. In 1867, Punial was invaded by its enemies from Yasin. But relief was sent from Gilgit and order restored. About this time, the valley of Chaprot was occupied by the Hunza ruler. In 1877, the then ruler of Nagar, occupied Chaprot and Chalt, and from that day these areas were held by the Nagar and Kashmir troops. In 1876, Yasin, Kuh-Ghazr and Ishkoman were under the rule of Mehtar Pahlwan Bahadur, who belonged to the ruling dynasty of Chitral and professed allegiance to the Maharaja of Kashmir. But he proved treacherous and Aman-ul-Mulk was permitted by the Maharaja's Government to incorporate the whole country. He partitioned the districts among paid Governors under the Maharaja after their severance from Chitral in 1895.

The Maharaja introduced many reforms in the administration of the State. As already referred to above he divided the administration into three main heads—Daftar Nizamat, Daftar Divani and Daftar Jangi. The Jammu Province was divided into seven Wazarats, Jammu Khas, Jasrota, Ramnagar, Udhampur, Reasi, Nowshera and Manawar. The land revenue assessment was considerably improved. The Jammu Wazarat had four Tehsils and 30 Parganas.

Out of the total area of 686,450 ghumauns, 33,344 ghumauns were under cultivation and the land revenue was assessed at an average rate of Rs. 1/9/3. The Kashmir Province was divided into six Wazarats—Shahar-i-Khas, Anantnag. Shopian, Pattan, Kamraj and Muzzaffarabad. Taxes had increased in Kashmir from reign to reign. Ranbir Singh remitted many of them, such as Tarki which was imposed on zamindars from old times (it yielded an income of 209,000 chilkis though hardly one-fourth of the total produce was left with the tiller of the soil and sometimes even less). The imposition of the tax is explained thus: "Out of every two khirwars of the produce one khirwar was taken away as land revenue. Out of the balance of one khirwar, eight traks were taken away as the so-called rasumi Tarki, rasumi Manwati and Qanungoi and Girdawari and the part of Shakdars and Sazawals."

Moorecroft who visited Kashmir in 1824 A.D. describes how heavily the Shawl trade and other trades were taxed in Kashmir. He says "Every Shawl was taxed 24 per cent upon the estimated value, besides which there was an import duty on the wool with which they were manufactured and a charge was made upon every shop or workman connected with the manufacture. Every other trade was also taxed ." The trade of Kashmir received a great set-back partly on account of heavy taxation and partly on account of the fall in the export trade brought about by the Fanco-German

war of 1870. Prior to this the Kashmir Shawl known as Cashmere was the fashion in aristocratic societies in Europe and was exported to the continent in large quantities. The tax on Shawls which was called "Dag-i-Shawl" is dated as far back as 1197 Hijri and was a great source of revenue. In the time of Ranbir Singh the tax at the old rate yielded a revenue of 12 lakhs. The Maharaja remitted this huge tax altogether just to help the industry. The other taxes on different arts, crafts and trades were as under: Taxes realised from Srinagar (trades) Rs. 45,687/11; taxes realised from Srinagar (arts and crafts) Rs. 16,621/8/-; taxes realised from Anantnag Rs. 4,280/6/-; taxes realised from "Wazarat Shopian Rs. 1,079/14/-; taxes realised from Pattan Rs. 304/5/-; taxes realised from Wazarat Kamraj Rs. 9,151/8/0 (Total Rs. 77,125/4/-). These taxes were all remitted. Besides many petition boxes were set up, imports abolished, marriage tax * withdrawn and kidnapping put down.

The following extract from the administration report of the Punjab for 1864-65 will be read with interest:

"The reduction of customs affected by His Highness last year had led to a considerable increase in the trade with the adjacent districts in the British territory. The trade with Sialkote

*The Zar-i-nikah brought a revenue of about Rs. 21,000 to the State. It was imposed on Muslims under Muslim rule.

is reported to have increased in value from Rs. 1,35,000 to Rs. 1,71,000 per annum, that with Jullundur and Hoshiarpur to have more than doubled. Chiefly in regard to the items of saccharine produce and native cloth, in Gujrat there is said to have been a general increase in the trade with Kashmir. The export of silk from Jhelum is stated to exhibit a similar increase and the value of shawl, wools and saffron imported to the Kangra district, an increase of Rs. 9,000." In 1867, His Highness decided to apply the rate of five per cent., charged for goods in transit from the Punjab to Yarkand to all imports from Central Asia to India of which the bond was not broken in the State territories. In 1870, a trade treaty was concluded with the British Indian Government. Under its terms, His Highness the Maharaja undertook to forego all duty on the trade between Central Asia and British India, in return for the same concession made by the Indian Government for goods imported into the state through British India.

There occurred a severe clash between the Shias and the Sunnis in 1872. The disturbance was brought under control and the Maharaja gave Rs. 3 lakhs to the Shias by way of relief because they had suffered much. The famine of 1877 was of a severe type. Food-stuffs could not be easily imported from the Punjab because no motorable road existed then between Rawalpindi and Srinagar though the construction of a cart-road had just begun. The Maharaja, however, ordered grains to be purchased worth

about a lakh of rupees from the Punjab. Besides, an Irshad was issued saying that "Anyone who imported foodgrains to the value of Rs. 20,000 will be awarded Rs. 1,000 as khilat and will receive the pleasure of His Highness." In the meantime some grain purchased at Sialkote arrived. The grain had cost the state Rs. 15/14/6 per khirwar but it was sold at the rate of Rs. 4/4/- only. Free langars were started to feed the poor. About 195,714 maunds of grain were imported. The State met a loss of about Rs. 33,64,195/3/3. Those who emigrated during this famine were later on induced to return.

Under such circumstances the question of transport would draw any ruler's attention. The construction of the Jhelum Valley Road was already started. The cart-road between Jammu and Srinagar was also started with a bridge over the Chenab at Ramban. This bridge was built at a time when over 2-ton motor lorries were unknown but it has existed upto this day in spite of heavy vehicular traffic that runs over it. The bridge was built by the local people and the steel used in its construction was brought from the rich mineral areas in Reasi district. A telegraph and a postal system was introduced to link up various parts of the State. To increase the speed of mails 129 stages were set up between Jammu and Srinagar and it took only 25 to 30 hours for the mail bags to reach Srinagar from Jammu and vice versa. Settled conditions in Kashmir valley attracted many visitors to Kashmir and in order to afford facilities to European

visitors a direct mail line from Jammu to Lahore was established in Samvat 1921. Anxious to further develop the postal system the Maharaja invited Mr. Hogg, the then Post-master General of Punjab, to Jammu and discussed with him all possibilities of improvement. In 1934 (Bikrami), the Maharaja thought of connecting Gilgit with Srinagar by a telegraph. And he did it with the help of an officer from the Punjab Government. Later Jammu also was connected with Srinagar. Telegrams addressed from Srinagar to British India were sent from Jammu to Sialkot through horse service but in Samvat 1935 the State telegraph line was extended to Suchetgarh which brought the State nearer to British India telegraphically.

While earlier the visitors were looked after through the Punjab Government, in 1877 an officer on special duty was placed directly under the Government of India who replaced the mixed court of 1872 consisting of British and State officials for deciding civil suits between local people and the European visitor. In the Afghan war of 1878-80 the Maharaja sent a contingent of troops and artillery to assist the British. He introduced vine cultivation* at various places and brought productions of the country on a firm footing. Silk industry received a great impetus during this time. He imported seedlings of mulberry

*Vines were imported from Bardeoux and hops from England.

trees from China. Tea gardens were laid in the Tehsils of Reasi and Basohli. In Samvat 1931, production of hand-made paper was started for Government use. Shawl manufacture, paper-making and sericulture were already introduced into Kashmir by Sultan Zain-ul-Abdin. Paper making spread as a cottage industry round Vicharnag and survived till the earlier days of Maharaja Pratap Singh when mill-made paper pushed it out of existence. Opium cultivation which was restricted to Bhaderwah and Kishtwar only was extended to other parts of the State as well. A brewery was established at Gupkar and the Kashmir wine won a gold medal at the Calcutta Exhibition. Sir Oliver St. John, Officer on special duty in Kashmir, conveyed Viceroy's appreciation to the Maharaja, on this successful manufacture.

Ranbir Singh was a great patron of art and letters. As early as 1867, when the idea of founding a University at Lahore was first mooted by Sir E. Mcleod, then H. E. the Governor of the Punjab, the Maharaja gave a donation of Rs. 6,25,000. When the University was founded in 1882, Maharaja Ranbir Singh's name was incorporated as the First Fellow in the Charter. A Translation Department was created to translate books on various subjects for use in the schools of the State. Subjects like Geology and Physics were also dealt with. The chief books published then are Sri Ranbir Prakash (diseases and their treatment), Ranbir Vrat Ratnakar (Dharm

Shastra), Ranbir Bhakti Ratnakar (Puranas) and Gulabnama (history of Gulab Singh in Persian). Scholars were sent to Tibet to learn the Tibetan language and many Tibetan books were translated into Hindi. Vidya Bilas Press was the first printing press introduced in his time in the State. Writing about the languages in vogue then Frederick Drew writes: "Besides the Persian character which in these territories is hardly ever applied to any but Persian language there are three written characters used for the spoken languages. These are Dogri, Kashmiri and Tibetan. The Dogri alphabet in its old form was imperfect and not easy to read either accurately or quickly. For this reason a few years ago the Maharaja recommended its modification. It was brought nearer to Devnagri, so near that the system is quite one with that, though the forms are somewhat different. New Dogri is used for the petitions that are read before the Maharaja, for this purpose it has replaced Persian in which petitions were written when I first visited Jammu but it has not generally displaced either Persian or old Dogri." In every Wazarat and Tehsil a school was opened and provision was made for higher studies in oriental languages. A big Pathshala was opened in Raghunath temple, Jammu and another at Utterbhani where instruction was imparted in Vedas, Grammar, Kavya Shastra and Niyay. Books were supplied free and scholarships granted. Frederick Drew was incharge of mineral survey and under his direction iron and coal were worked to certain extent.

Considerable attention was given to irrigation and one of the most important canals in the State is known after him, though it was completed in the time of his successor. Earthquakes occurred in 1863, 1878 and 1884 A.D. Famine visited in 1864 and 1877A.D. Cholera broke out in 1857–58 1867, 1872, 1875-76 and 1879 A.D. and fires caused a devastation in 1875 and 1878 A.D.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh introduced his own currency. The State Mint was closed twelve years after his death in 1897 A.D. when the British currency was introduced. Similarly the State Postal system was amalgamated with the Indian Postal System in 1894 A.D.

Sir Richard Temple bears testimony to the high character of the Maharaja. He says: "His private domestic life seemed to be good. He rode out daily, and was certainly free from many frivolities and vices which but too often disfigure the private conduct of Oriental Princes." Maharaja Ranbir Singh was granted G.C.S.I., and a royal salute of 21 guns in lieu of his services to the British Empire. Earlier he had been offered a jagir in Oudh in return for the State force's assistance in putting down the Mutiny. He declined the offer because the help rendered was given as an ally.

Maharaja Gulab Singh had established the treasury of Shri Raghunathji with a fund of rupees five lakhs, the interest to be spent on Sadavarts. Ranbir Singh was appointed a

Trustee to look after the Devasthans. Ranbir Singh enjoined upon his sons, heirs, descendants etc., to lend their help to his Trust and to see that the Trust-deed was respected in letter and spirit. This was issued on 20th Katik, 1940. Rajas Partap Singh, Ram Singh and Amar Singh accepted the injuction of their father with heart and soul by a declaration dated 25th Baisakh, 1941. The oath administered in the name of a hundred thousand sacred cows is incorporated in the Ain-i-Dharmarth which governs the administration of the ecclesiastical department.

Ranbir Singh breathed his last on 14th September, 1885 A.D. Conveying his condolence to his successor, Partap Singh, H.E. the Viceroy and Governor-General in a letter dated Simla, the 14th September, 1885, wrote: "Maharaja Ranbir Singh rendered valuable service to the British Government. I feel that his loss is the loss of a friend."

PRATAP SINGH

Maharaja Pratap Singh, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., LL.D., etc., etc., was born in 1850 A.D. and succeeded to the throne in 1885 A.D. Ranbir Singh left behind four sons, namely Raja Pratap Singh, Raja Ram Singh, Raja Amar Singh and Raja Lachman Singh, Pratap Singh being the eldest. Raja Lachman Singh died in 1848 A.D. Raja Ram Singh was a soldier who

would admit no defeat in battle. He passed away in 1897 A.D. Raja Amar Singh was one of the richest princes of India and served as Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief in the State for some time and died in 1907 A.D.

Maharaja Pratap Singh's forty years' reign was epoch-making. The greatest contribution of the Dogra Rule to Kashmir are the two trunk roads which were completed in his time. The first drawback of Kashmir was its lack of the means of communication with British India. In 1889, there was no continuous road to drive through in Kashmir although there existed every kind of roads between different towns. In addition to numerous short roads constructed throughout the country plans of two main roads, one joining Srinagar with Kohala and the other with Jammu, were designed for motor traffic. The Jhelum Valley Road covers a length of 132 miles from Srinagar to the Kohala Bridge and the Banihal Cart Road covering a length of 2C3 miles was completed in 1922 at a cost of forty-three lakhs. Bridges were constructed at Domel, Kohala and other places.

The Sialkote-Jammu Railway was thrown open to traffic in 1890 which linked up Jammu with British India. Many projects have been prepared from time to time to bring Srinagar on the Railway map of India but the idea so far remains unrealised. The Sangam bridge was built in 1910.

Crops in Kashmir usually depend upon snows and not upon monsoons as in the plains. Naturally the greater the number of irrigation canals, the less the apprehension of a famine. Pratap Singh constructed a number of these—Martand Canal, Lal Kuhl, Pratap Canal, Ranbir Canal (this being the largest serving an area of about 126,000 acres), Basantpur Canal, Ujh Canal and Upper Jhelum Canal. The Zainagir Canal was completed in the year 1931 at a cost of Rs. 11 lakhs. A flood spill channel for diverting the waters of the Jhelum was constructed between Ram Munshi Bagh and Pandrethan. Dredging operations were conducted below the town of Baramulla for removal of silt etc. A weir was constructed across the Jhelum at Chhatabal to maintain enough water in the river during winter and draughts. Arrangements were made for supply of pure water on sanitation lines to the cities of Srinagar and Jammu.

Pratap Singh was an orthodox Hindu. Though deeply devoted to the Royal House of Windsor, neither he nor his brothers ever crossed the "black-water". Even moving about India meant a cumbersome, elaborate business. "It pleased him that his Imperial Service troops—no Kashmiri among them—had the honour of guarding the Northern passes into India." He avoided alcohol but an "opium peg" brightened his wits and his outlook.

Though himself not a very great solider,

the army was his greatest concern. He re-organised the military force, supplied it with modern equipment and brought it on modern footing. Kashmir being so rich in forest wealth, its conservancy was needed. (India probably gets her best timber supplies from Kashmir). The First Great War caused great unrest in the grain market by high fluctuation. Pratap Singh took cue from Gulab Singh's food policy and introduced rationing which led to grain control that exists to this day. A step was taken in the direction of local self-Government by establishing two Municipalities—one at Jammu and one at Srinagar. Two first grade colleges were founded at Jammu and Srinagar with a network of schools spread all over the country to fight ignorance and illiteracy. Two up-to-date hospitals were also opened at the capital cities. Numerous dispensaries were set up in towns and villages to combat sickness and disease and to promote public health. A well equipped technical institute was established at Srinagar to train artisans in various crafts. Few of its kind existed in the whole of India then.

Since Gulab Singh's time revenue was obtained in kind. Probably salaries also were given in kind. One of the greatest measures of Pratap Singh's reign is the land revenue settlement of the country under the able supervision of Walter Lawrence. The revenue in kind was replaced by revenue in cash. The old Kardars who fleeced the peasantry no more exist now. Soon after followed the co-opera-

tive movement which saved zamindars from the clutches of Sahukars. In his time one State monopoly, Dogshawl (Shawl industry) was abolished and another, Sericulture was set up. Silk Industry in Kashmir provided work to thousands of people in the State. "He accomplished all this in spite of the fact that he had succeeded to a bankrupt kingdom," says Lawrence.

In 1889 A.D. only after few years of his reign, the relations between Pratap Singh and the Paramount Power became somewhat strained. By now—1885 the British had succeeded in installing a Resident in Kashmir*. The mixed court appointed in 1872 was abolished and the Resident and his assistants were invested with powers to dispose of certain kinds of suits. Col. Nisbat, the then Resident, brought a charge that Pratap Singh was intriguing with Russia and Dalip Singh against the British which resulted in virtual abdication of the Maharaja in 1889. The charge of plotting murder of Plowdon, the British Resident, was also brought against him. "Condemned Unheard" gives the full back ground. A council was constituted for the administration of the State with Raja Amar Singh and two officers from Delhi. Just before his death after the conclusion of the first Great War in which the Maharaja had given great assistance and displayed deep loyalty he was once again in enjoyment of full powers.

*The British felt that after annexing the Punjab the Muslim population of Kashmir needed some protection.

Pratap Singh had some trouble on his frontiers also. In his time, conquest of Hunza was effected and Chitral war was fought. The Dogra soldiers resisted attacks, offered counter-attacks and finally won wherever they went."*

As in the previous reign, Kashmir saw a number of natural calamities. The earthquake shock of 1885 A.D. destroyed much life and property. Cholera epidemics of 1888, 1892, 1900-1902 1906-07 and 1910 wrought untold havoc. Plague that broke out in 1903-4 in Jammu, created panic in the whole State. People fled into interior to save their lives. There were big fires in 1892 and 1899 which entailed much loss of property. As if these had not been enough, there were heavy floods in 1893 and 1903. The former alone swept away about six thousand souls. But the first Census operations were conducted in Kashmir in 1891 and this

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2. In 1877, the British Officer had been posted as Political Agent at Gilgit. He was recalled in 1881 but re-appointed in 1889. The Agency included Hunza, Nagar, Punial, Yasin, Kub-Ghiza and Ishkoman. The Kashmir garrison at Chaprot and Chalt was attached in 1885. They offered submission in 1889 to the Political Agent, but they did not stick. After the battle, Hunza and Nagar were occupied in 1891. The Chief of Nagar was reinstated by the Maharaja. The Chief of Hunza having fled, his brother, Safdar Khan, was installed instead. According to Col. Neville Chamberlain who commanded State troops in 1910, the State army which consisted of 24000 soldiers had not been paid for three years. Writes he, "These soldiers are sent out into the villages to loot like an invading army."

was followed by three other decennial Census operations in 1901, 1911 and 1921. The population of Kashmir in 1891 was only 949,041; in 1941 it was 1,728,705.

The visit of a Prince of Wales to a State was a rare occasion. During Pratap Singh's reign, two Princes of Wales visited Jammu. Their visits further strengthened the bond of friendship between Kashmir, Delhi and London. Pratap Singh spared no pains to help winning the first World War. His contributions in men, material and money were huge.

In 1914 A.D. Kashmir sent Second Kashmir Rifles to the front, the main strength of which was reinforced throughout the war. Another despatch consisting of two battalions and 2/2nd Kashmir Rifles was sent in 1917 A.D. The total number of these despatches amounted to 1,200 and 1,070 strong. Two Kashmir Imperial Lancers (1915 A.D.) and Kashmir Mountain Battery furnished with six guns (1916 A.D.) largely added to the numerical strength of the war contribution. The total monetary contribution amounted to about Rs. 1,11,00,000 in all. In addition to this, the State supplied 31,000 recruits to the British Indian Army. This was the largest number of recruits supplied by any Indian State during the war.

"In recognition of the signal services rendered by these Units at the various theaters of the

war, many battle honours were conferred on them".

Yuvraj Hari Singh, who was then the Commander-in-Chief made the following contribution from his Privy Purse:

Investment in war loans and bonds	Rs. 13,00,000
Donations, etc.	2,91,000

The war began in 1914 and ended in 1918 A.D., with victory for the Allies.

During the summer of 1924, there was an uprising by the labourers of Srinagar Silk Factory and this incident was immediately followed by possession of a plot of land belonging to the State by the Muslims at Anantnag. For the first time a people politically oppressed appeared in revolt and the seed took roots. Younghusband writes in "The Light of Experience" that Pratap Singh was a great gentleman and remained staunch in his loyalty to the British Crown and sedition had never the slightest chance in Kashmir. That is a reason why this movement did not reccive external support then. The movement was suppressed and obviously it disappeared.

Maharaja Pratap Singh was a pious ruler. Though a Rajput, he did not take meat nor did he shoot any game. Every day from morn up to noon he would be busy with his "Puja". In

the afternoon he would come in the open Durbar. Right up to the evening the Vitasta put up an appearance of lotus crop which he had offered to the Deity earlier. The Maharaja himself watched it from his window as did his "humblest subjects." These lotus flowers came from his "place of worship". The Khir Bhawani Mela on 8th day in the solar half of Jeth attracts large crowds at Tulamula. Maharaja Pratap Singh was a frequent visitor to the shrine on this day. He would go there in all pomp and distribute alms to the poor and the needy.

His simplicity and unostentatiousness are proverbial. He was extravagantly liberal in Dan (charity). The current history has not come across a single anecdote that Pratap Singh had ever refused a gift or a charity. Sometimes he would relieve a widow. Sometimes he would come to the rescue of an orphan. May be that sometimes his charity was misplaced or his generosity abused. His Privy Purse which was one lakh per month minimum hardly made way outside the State, and there were few charges of luxury and extravagance. He would puff native tobacco all day long and he was accessible to the humblest of his subjects.

In his time law courts had begun to function. Ranbir Dand Bidhi was in force, and he*

*A poor man once submitted a petition to him, saying that he had pawned a gold ornament to a shroff for a few rupees. "I am now returning him the money" stated he, "and asking back my ornament which I have made for

would himself take up investigation if a complaint came to his notice. This he had inherited from his father and grand-father. But the punishments he awarded were not severe.

As there was unrest in the country, Gulab Singh had ordered to fire gun three times in a day—twelve noon, ten P.M. and four A.M. (winter) or three A.M. summer. Twelve noon indicated time. Ten P.M. a signal to remain indoors and 4 A.M.-3 A.M. indicated time limit within which the people were required to remain indoors. This practice continued up to Maharaja Hari Singh's reign, though in

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my daughter who is going to be married soon, but the shroff is telling me that he had never lent any money to me nor any ornament was ever pawned by me to him. Maharaja Pratap Singh inquired from the poor man if he had got any proof, documentary or otherwise, to support his allegation. He told him that he had got none. The Maharaja then called him in private and, after satisfying himself of the truth of his complaint, instructed him to go to the money-lender at his shop at a certain hour the same day when, he said, he would reach there. The poor man went to the money-lender's shop and soon after he reached there on horse-back. He called the Petitioner to himself and, bending low from the horse-back, whispered something in his ear, feigning great intimacy with him. He then passed on. When the money-lender saw this that the man had so much access to the Maharaja, he got frightened and at once gave back his ornament, recovering the few rupees he had lent him. The poor man went to the Maharaja, exclaiming that he, as Daniel, had come to his judgment, the Shylock shroff having returned to him the ornament as soon as he had passed on from his shop. The Maharaja smiled and told the man to go home and be happy.

theory only because time had changed and "law and order" had come to stay. His successor discontinued this practice because it was needed no more.

Maharaja Pratap Singh was very fond of cricket. He maintained a cricket team and was himself one of the eleven. Thousands of spectators were attracted to see the Maharaja hitting the ball on the playground. He was exceptionally short-statured.

Maharaja Pratap Singh's State entry into Srinagar every year between May and June was a picturesque scene. At Shalteng he would take his seat in a specially decorated chakwari with Wazirs round him and as the chakwari moved up towards Shergarhi, millions of people were attracted from roofs, windows and river ghats. The river Jhelum was literally littered with shikaras moving to and fro.

Organised public opinion was suppressed as before though a solitary organisation or a solitary newspaper did make its appearance to mould the policy of administration.

Kar-i-Sarkar or forced labour survived to his day but it was paid for. It may be that it was sometimes abused but it was not so rigorous as previously.

As education spread, a wave of resentment arose among the local intelligentsia against

the outsiders who had almost all the services in their hands. The administration was mostly manned by them. The slogan of "State for State's People" came to be heard everywhere, but the Maharaja paid little heed to this growing movement. Least did his councillors imagine that this *pukar* would become a public slogan one day and lead to a political movement that would be faced by his successor and one day culminate in "Quit Kashmir" slogan.

Pratap Singh was not blessed with a son. Once or twice a child was born to him but none survived. He adopted Jagat Dev Singh of Poonch Ruling family but Raja Amar Singh taking exception to his (former's) claim of succession frustrated the intrigue at the very initial stage. Jagat Dev became *waterson* to perform absequies only and Hari Singh, the only son of Raja Amar Singh and nephew of Maharaja Pratap Singh, became thus the heir-apparent. And when he grew up, he became the Commander-in-Chief and later Senior and Foreign member of Council.

Pratap Singh died on 23rd September, 1925 A.D., at Srinagar. Jagat Dev Singh later succeeded to the gaddi of Poonch, a jagir under the sovereignty of Kashmir Durbar.

HARI SINGH

Maharaja Hari Singh *the ex-ruler of Jammu and Kashmir, was born in September, 1895. He is the son of Raja Amar Singh and a great grandson of Maharaja Gulab Singh. He joined the Mayo College, Ajmer, in 1908 at the age of 13. Later on he was sent to Dehra Dun for military training. On his return he was appointed the Commander-in-Chief of State forces in 1915 when he was only 20 years of age. He took up the post of Senior Member of the then State Council in 1922.

Maharaja Hari Singh ascended the Gaddi in September, 1925, but Rajtilak ceremony was performed in February, 1926, at Jammu. The new Maharaja announced agricultural reforms and further extension of educational and other facilities.

As mentioned before both Dogras and Kashmiris were demanding representation in services. At last, due to the efforts of the ruler himself, came the State Subjects' Definition in 1927 which protects the children of the soil in recruitment to services and other privileges against outsiders. According to the Definition

Inside Asia by John Gunther. "The Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir is named Sir Hari Singh. In 1925 in London as Mr. A he was the central figure and victim in a celebrated £ 30,00,000 blakmail case. In court Sir John Simon called him a poor, green, shivering abject wretch."

only those persons who settled in the State before Samvat 1942 came to be recognised as hereditary State Subjects of class I. This measure was implemented by training local talent for different offices.

Following the movement launched by the Muslims in 1931 for political reforms and civic rights the Maharaja appointed a Commision (Grievances Enquiry) of representatives of communities which was presided over by a British Officer, Mr. (later Sir) B.G. Glancy. As a result of this enquiry religious places that had passed into the hands of the Government were restored back to the Muslims and other communities, adequate representation to different communities in services was guaranteed and proprietary rights to zamindars on their lands were granted. The freedom of the press and the platform also came in its wake. The movement of 1931 created a mass leader in the person of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah who in the initial stages placed a communal view-point before the people. Later on, say in 1939, he became wedded to the nationalist school of thought asking for responsible Government. The ideology attracted to him non-Muslims as well. There were stirs in other communities also and the most important of these were the 'Bread Movement' of Kashmir and the 'Cow Agitation' of Jammu. The former followed the publication of the Grievances Enquiry Commission Report and was led by Kashmiri Pandits who interpreted the report as an anti-Hindu

document which would bang all doors of services against them and even impede the course of their development. The High Court had reduced punishment prescribed by law for cow killing in a single case. The Dogras protested against this.*

Praja Sabha (People's Assembly) was established in 1934 and about 6% of the population only was given the right of vote. The Praja Sabha consisted of 75 members, 33 of them being elected. In 1939, the elected element was raised from 33 to 40 and the constitution was further liberalised but increased representation was given to vested interests to hoodwink democracy.

Judicial reform was not lost sight of. In March 1928, a High Court comprising a Chief Justice and two Puisne judges was established. In 1930, the jurisdiction exercised by Residency courts was transferred to the State courts. This decreased the influence of the Political Department on local administration. A Judicial Advisory Board akin to the Privy Council in the case of British India, was also established to advise His Highness in regard to the disposal of judicial cases going up to him in appeal. On 10th September, 1943, Letters Patent was granted to the High Court thus bringing it in line with modern canons of law. The judiciary

*The law prescribed seven years imprisonment for the killing of cow.

in the State was thus made completely independent of the Executive.

Before the introduction of Settlement of land under W. Lawrence the status of cultivators was awfully bad. The State's share of revenue revised to 30% of the gross produce contributed some relief. The total area under cultivation was 2,256,000 acres. The Settlement itself is repeated after 40 years. The Agriculturists Relief Act specially relieved the cultivator from the clutches of the money-lender. The Village Panchayats gained impetus from 1937. They attend to medical relief, education, sanitation, rural uplift, etc., and dispose of petty cases. Out of 300 and odd Acts passed during the last 20 years, Alienation of Land Act of 1928 and Consolidation of Holdings Act of 1940 did much to ameliorate the lot of Zamindars. Free and compulsory primary education for boys was introduced to fight mass illiteracy. Trade, commerce and industry received impetus through the Exhibition which was founded in 1929.

On March 9, 1931, Her Highness the Junior Maharani* who had accompanied the Maharaja to London in 1930 gave birth to a prince—Maharaj Kumar Karan Singh Ji (heir apparent) at Cannes in the South of France.

*She is the fourth wife of Maharaja Hari Singh, the first three having died issueless. She comes of Katoch Rajput family from Kangra District.

Since Pratap Singh's time the Dogra House had not been favoured with a male issue.

Social reforms: Marriage of boys under 18 and of girls under 14 was prohibited, even before the Sharda Act had been passed in British India. Rajputs who killed their daughters after birth were forbidden to do so. During the previous reigns, Rajputs and Brahmins were immune from capital punishment. This disparity was ended. The Juvenile Smoking Act was passed to save the rising generation from a bad habit. Harijans against whom the doors of temples had been banned were allowed freedom of worship on 2nd November 1932. Traffic in women was put an end to. Restriction against Hindu widows that they could not remarry was removed.

The seed for local self-government was sown in earlier days. The Municipal Committees at Srinagar and Jammu were official bodies in the initial stages. As education advanced and civic sense developed, Municipal reforms also came. The first step was taken in 1913, then next in 1921, again in 1927-28 and then in 1936. Just as measures were adopted to discourage emigration of labour, so was overcrowding in the cities guarded against under Town Planning.

The introduction of the Basic System and recognition of the Double Script (Urdu and Devanagri) for education were experiments

which did not make much headway. The construction of three new hospitals at Mirpur, Jammu and Srinagar on modern scientific lines at an immense cost was designed to provide improved medical aid. For the last so many years plague has not been heard of in Jammu.

In 1935, Gilgit was leased out to the Paramount Power on certain conditions under an agreement reached between the two Governments.

The flood of 1929 was one of the severest ever witnessed by Kashmir. It caused immense loss of property. This was followed by another in 1931.

In the domain of industries besides the Silk Factory which is the largest of its kind in the world there came into being Match Factory, Santonine Factory, Tannery, Pottery Factory, Woollen Mill, Silk Weaving-Factory, Sheep Breeding Farm, Pyrethrum Cultivation, Resin and Turpentine Factory, Half-Wrought Factory, Drug Research Laboratory. Kashmir Willows, Sugar Mill, Indianite Factory. The Jammu and Kashmir Bank reflects prospects of these and other industries.

The World War No. 2 broke out in 1939. Like his predecessors the ruler left no stone unturned to help the war effort. He offered services of one Infantry Brigade Signal Section and four Battalions of Infantry (1st and 2nd

Mountain Battery, 3ed Rifles, 4th, 7th and 9th Infantry, Artillery Training Centre), 18 completely-equipped motor ambulances, Kashmir House at Delhi without rent, Lock-heed plane besides contributions in money and men. The total number of recruits supplied was nearly 65,000 and the total aid amounted to Rs. 9,87,315–8–0 (war aid), Rs. 2,79,247–1–6 (Privy Purse), £. 40,000 and £. 10,000. The State troops won distinction at Keren (Eritrea) and Damascus (Syria). The ruler personally visited the Middle East in October 1941 and Italy in 1944.

At the first Round Table Conference held in London, Maharaja Hari Singh boldly advocated India's freedom. And at the time Sir Stafford Cripps came to India with an offer, he issued a historical statement advocating the same ideal. In 1944 he himself appointed two Popular Ministers and in 1945 he gave the Premiership to a mulki just giving an opportunity to State Subjects for manning the highest posts in the administration but times had gone much ahead to hypnotise people with such eye-wash reforms.

Maharaja Hari Singh is fond of polo and Shikar very much as his predecessor was of cricket and puja. The two palaces at Gupkar and Ramnagar, the Hari Singh High street and the Boulevard round the Dal Lake reveal taste of a builder. The revenue which the State yielded in 1945-46 was Rs. 42,454,000.

But in spite of this, differences continued to exist between various communities. Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs presented a separate standpoint each. The politics of Kashmir was greatly influenced by the politics of British India. "Akhand Hind" and "Pakistan" slogans assured no sweet promise. In spite of obvious clash of interests both provincewise* and communitywise there was a common ideal before all—responsible government under the aegis of the ruler which later on culminated in the "Quit Kashmir" movement.

Writes Maud Diver in *Royal India*, "The position of Kashmir is that of Hyderabad reversed, and, given the moral support of the British Government, there is every possibility of a peaceful solution that may be reasonably expected to endure". The British mind thought like this.

The Civil D'sobedience Movement started in 1931 rooted itself deeply into the soil as champion of the rights of the peasant, the artisan and the worker. The sponsors of the movement were Muslims. That was only natural. It is they who had been reduced mostly to a position of servitude since the coming of the Sikhs. The non-Muslims opposed the rising tide with the result that communal clashes could not be averted. Both as petty officer or as landlord and

*Exclusive Dogra Army, Rajput Military School, Arms Act, etc. accounted for provincialism while begar and calling of hato (nickname given to Kashmiri Muslims) accounted for communalism.

Sahokar (money-lender) the Hindu had played no small part in shaking the confidence of his countrymen. But communal discord subsided soon*. In 1933 support of the Sikhs and the Hindus was enlisted to work jointly for the welfare of the masses. In his presidential address at the J & K Muslim Conference in 1932 Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah said—"We stand for the rights of all communities. Our country's progress is impossible so long as we do not establish amicable relations between the different communities. This is possible only when each community learns to appreciate the view point of other communities." The Muslim Conference became extinct in 1939, its place was taken by the National Conference. The same year gave birth to the famous National Demand which was signed by representatives of all communities. The "Quit India" movement started by the Indian National Congress in 1942 was followed by "Quit Kashmir" movement led by the National Conference in 1946 preceded by adoption of "New Kashmir" as the goal in 1944 which promised freedom from all forms of political and economic exploitation. The National Conference in its historical memorandum to the Cabinet Mission declared "Today the National demand of the people of Kashmir is not merely the demand of a responsible Government but their right to absolute freedom from the autocratic rule of the Dogra House." This was

*The Broad movement in Kashmir and the Cow agitation in Jammu sadly uprooted the communal mind.

followed by the arrest of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah on May 20, 1946. And from that moment onwards there was "blood, sweat and tears" Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru was taken into custody in June 1946 near about Kohala, while on his way to Srinagar which further changed the course of history in the country. On July 22, 1946 Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was sentenced to nine years imprisonment and Rs. 500/- fine.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, spared no labours to convert Mr. S.M. Abdullah to his way of thinking but he met with no success. Mr. R.C. Kak dreamed of isolation for Kashmir but he was asked to quit from his office six days before India and Pakistan were declared independent. Mahatma Gandhi who visited Kashmir in his time was also not heard. He stated, "The Kashmiris had one language, one culture and so far as I could see, they are one people. The Treaty of Amritsar was in reality a deed of Sale." The question of the States accession remained undecided. Too late was Sher-i-Kashmir released. Pakistan had meanwhile created an "economic crises" for Kashmir, in spite of Standstill Agreement with her. Mr. Abdullah who had been released by this time stressed that it was the people's right to decide their own future. While negotiations were going on both at Lahore and Delhi about the future settlement, Muzaffarabad was raided on October 22, 1947. Trouble in Poonch had started earlier. With Brigadier Rajendra Singh making desperate

stand against the raiders near Buniyar, the civil administration collapsed at the headquarters, the Peace Brigade and the National Militia of the National Conference took up the defence crying "Raiders beaware; we Kashmiris are ready.–"* Baramulla fell into the enemy hands on October 26. And what happened. The Maharaja left for Jammu, leaving poor Kashmir to her own fate.** At the joint request of Hari Singh and S.M. Abdullah India at last accepted accession on Oct. 24 and "decided to intervene with the armed forces of the Union" who landed in Srinagar on October 27 when raiders were sacking, burning and looting round the northern walls of the city. Wave of joy again spread in the country. The raiders were driven off and Baramulla recaptured on November 7. Sh. Mohammad Abdullah was sworn in as Head of Emergency Administration on October 30. The necessities of life having been stranded at Rawalpindi the price of salt at once rose to Rs. 16/- per seer.

The year of 1948 was a period of great pressure on home front as well as war front. The ceasefire line was ultimately drawn by which Muzaffarabad, Gilgit, Mirpur and a part of Poonch now known as "Azad Kashmir' were allowed to remain with the insurgents under an over-all control of Pakistan. Mohamad Ibrahim, Ch. Ghulam Abbas and M. Yusuf Shah held command there. While Ibrahim

*It is this militia which later on became the regular army and broke the 'Gordian Knot'.

**That was a fit reward of 100 years rule.

organised revolt from Poonch the latter two joined him after partition.

On the home front the duly constituted Govt. headed by eight popular Ministers looked after refugee problem and introduced many a reform mostly agrarian. Canals were dug and roads constructed to increase production and promote communication. Food and other essential supplies were imported. Land was particularly passed on to the tiller. Jammu where communal madness had shown its head was cooled down. Jagirdari and Zamindari were liquidated. Transport Service was built up. Ejectment of tenants was stayed and moratorium was laid on non-commercial debts. The common man was in the picture and relieved. Chenani which was a jurisdictional Jagir having an area of 95 square miles and a population of 12,000 was taken over on April 5. Muqarraries amounting to about Rs. 1,77,925 reverted to the state exchequer. Co-operative movement received a further fillip and the institution of Zaildars and Nambardars was reorganised on elective basis. Emporia were established in important towns of India.

Maharaja Hari Singh went into voluntary exilement and his place as constitutional head of the State was taken over by his only son Yuvraj Karan Singh. This took place in 1949 when the question of Kashmir was already pending before the Security Council of the United Nations where India and Pakistan figured as complainants

and defendants respectively. The 5-man Commission which reported failure was followed by 1, Sir Owen Dixon and 2, by Dr. Frank Graham. United Nations representatives, who also reported failure.

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Lenin of Kashmir, was born in December 1905 in the family of Shawl-makers at Soura, 6 miles away from Srinagar. Poverty greeted him on his birth. The seeds of a revolution were sown in a simple reading room at Fateh Kadal where he as school master and his friends met and discussed the future of Kashmir. The first storm blew across Jammu. The long waiting was exhausted and the stage set. Mr. Abdullah defied tyranny when he delivered his first speech at Jama Masjid. Since that moment he courted arrests until one day the tale echoed in the plains of the Punjab attracting persons like Iqbal at the earlier stages. First a communalist (1931) then a nationalist (1939) and later a socialist (1944) Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah has shown a soul soaring upwards with a beacon light in his hand dispelling darkness of fanaticism all round. To such a man, Jinnah and his hymn of hate could have no attraction. His instinct took him towards Nehru and his hymn of love.

On coming to power what did he do ? He installed an University and two Radio Stations to spread education and to promote culture. The ancient Kashmir was once again put on the

cultural map of the world. He is a Muslim as Gandhiji was a Hindu.

The greatest achievement of Sh. Mohammad Abdullah is the convening of the sovereign constituent Assembly for the State which met in October 1951, seventy five members of which were returned on basis of adult suffrage and joint electorates*. But only one political party fought elections. The Assembly took bold decisions, refused compensation to landlords, abolished hereditary rule and designed a new state flag and emblem.

A ROUND UP.

About 150,000 absentee landlords were made to surrender 4,500,000 kanals of land. The Text Book Advisory Board evolved a common script (Persian Arabic-Nasakh Style).

Girls' Colleges were established. The Transport Service commands a fleet of 400 vehicles.

Debts amounting to about six crores of rupees were liquidated. Hundreds of Multi-purpose co-operative Societies for distribution of necessaries of life were established throughout the State.

Zaipur canal (50,000 acres), Sumbal canal (5,000 acres), Mawar canal (4,000 acres), Kisht-

*Kashmir 45, Jammu 30—Muslims 48, Pandits 3, Sikhs 3, Dogras 19, Buddhists 1, Kargil Shia 1.

war canal (5,000 acres) and Udhampur Canal (24,000 acres) are under construction. The Sindh Valley Hydro Electric project to irrigate 2,000 acres and to produce 13,000 Kwts. of electricity is in progress.

B.C.G. team of the world Health Organization vaccinated more than a lakh of people against chest diseases. Five years are earmarked for vaccination of entire population.

F ood control bunds have been erected by Co-operative effort.

Before the Second World War the revenue of the State never exceeded Rs. 25,000,000. It rose to 55,700,000 by 1945. It dropped to 27,400,000 in 1947. In 1951 it was estimated to be 45,700,000.

About 4 lakh kanals of cultivable land were made available to speed up production.

While all this is said the impartial historian cannot suppress the other side of the picture. As popular administration continued on mass discontent also stepped up. This is not so much due to Indo-Pakistan controversy as it is due to taxation, corruption, unemployment, high prices and security measures. While prices have shot up four to eight times incomes have not correspondingly increased. The Government itself raised the price of Shali from Rs. 8/4/- to Rs. 10/8/- per Khirwar. It is on the price of

this staple food that prices of other commodities revolve. Taxation at the base hardly goes long way to balance a budget*.

"I Sikh Battalion consisting of 330 men were flown on Tuesday October 28, 1947 to block a major invasion by North West Frontier tribesmen—the Kashmir Government accused Pakistan of failure to provide supplies of several essential commodities and protesting about a number of small border raids.

"Three days before the transfer of power and the accession time limit the Kashmir Government announced its intention of signing Standstill agreements with both India and Pakistan. Subsequently the Indian Government's policy has been to refrain from inducing Kashmir to accede. The Maharaja's choice in decision must be accounted a big factor in the present crisis. Almost any course of action taken quickly would have saved his state from this turmoil. Procrastination alone was fatal but in combating major crisis it would seem that, as with the Nizam, this is the only weapon in his diplomatic armoury."

"5,000 tribesmen had attacked and captured Muzaffarabad and Domel on 25th and were already little more than 35 miles from Srinagar. The rush of events had unnerved the Maharaja

*It must be admitted that Sh. Abdullah's administration could not carry along the District of Ladakh and the Province of Jammu.

who felt lone and helpless. He left Srinagar with his wife and son on 26th October on strong advice of India's representative who was on the spot. The same day the Maharaja signed the letter of accession. There was only one squadron of cavalry left to hold the invaders. "While urging the Maharaja to make up his mind about accession before the transfer of power Mounbatten had all along, from his visit in June onwards, exerted his whole influence to prevent him from acceding to one Dominion or the other without first taking steps to ascertain the will of his people by referendum, plebiscite, election or even, if these methods were impracticable, by representative public meetings." Jinnah, on the other hand, was hoist with his own petard, as it was he who chose over Junagadh, to take his stand on the over-riding validity of the ruler's personal decision.

"You can't build a nation on tricks. Jinnah at Abbotabad had been expecting to ride in triumph into Kashmir. First there was Junagadh. Then Hyderabad. India's readiness to accept a plebiscite had been declared from the outset. A large scale massacre, including a couple of hundred British residents in Srinagar by Tribesmen would have been inevitable if no military move had been made. The Maharaja's accession gave complete legality to the action so far taken." —*Mountbatten*

"Jinnah had given orders for Pakistan troops to be moved into Kashmir but these were called

off subsequently when Auchinleck explained to Jinnah that in so far as Kashmir had acceded to India the Government of India had a perfect right to send in troops in response to the Maharaja's request.

"The result was in the hands of God, men could but do or die. He would not shed a tear if the little Union force was wiped out like the Spartans bravely defending Thermopylae nor would he mind Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and his Muslim, Hindu and Sikh comrades dying at their posts in the defence of Kashmir. That would be a glorious example to the rest of India."

M. K. Gandhi.

Pakistan did not recognise the accession describing it as based on fraud and violence. At the Jinnah-Mountbatten meeting at Lahore the latter maintained that accession had indeed been brought about by violence, but the violence came from the tribes for whom Pakistan was responsible. Jinnah's attitude to a plebiscite was conditioned by his belief that the combination of Indian troops in occupation and Sh. Mohammad Abdullah in power meant that the average Muslims would be far too frightened to vote for Pakistan. Mountbatten proposed a plebiscite under U.N.O. auspices whereupon Jinnah asserted that only the two Governors-General could organise it.

"On November 3, Nehru made a broadcast offering a United Nations controlled plebiscite for Kashmir which did not react. So well in

Jinnah who objected to the presence of Indian troops in Kashmir before any Plebiscite cou.d be held. Had Maharaja joined Pakistan before the transfer of Power, India would not regard the act unfriendly, says Alan Campbell Johnson.

"With Pakistan's knowledge India lodged an appeal with the United Nations on January 9, 1948. No attack was developed on Uri and the Indian troops there made no contact with hostile forces as that would be an event which could well touch off the wider conflict. This was meant to be avoided, the issue being subjudice before the Security Council according to Mountbatten."

Alan Campbell Johnson.
(By courtesy of the 'Hindustan Times.)

Though fanaticism has survived in the land there are also possibilities of Kashmir turning red in the near future. It is becoming explosive day by day.

The U.N.O. has made Kashmir into a gunpowder magazine which may burst any moment. The longer a fair solution is delayed the worse it is, not only for Kashmir but for the whole world. The findings of the Security Council during the last five years have repeatedly reported a failure.

KARAN SINGH

Shree Yuvaraj Karan Singhji was born in the city of Cannes (South of France) on 9th March 1931.

Yuvaraj Karansinghji received most of his primary education at home, although he attended the Presentation Convent College in Srinagar for two seasons.

In 1942, at the age of 11, the Yuvaraj was sent to the Doon School, Dehra Dun. He was perhaps the first heir-apparent to go to a public school in India. He studied there for three years and in 1945, at the age of only 14, he appeared for the Senior Cambridge Examination, which he passed in the first grade and in 1947 passed the intermediate Examination of the Allahabad University as a private candidate.

He was sent to New York for medical treatment at the beginning of 1948 and he returned to India at the beginning of 1949. On June 20th 1949, Shree Yuvaraj Karan Singh took over as Regent of the State.

Shree Yuvaraj was married in Bombay to Princess Yasho Rajya Lakshmi, grand daughter of His Highness Maharaja Mohan Shamsher Jung Bahadur, Rana of Nepal.

He passed the B.A. Examination of the University of Jammu and Kashmir in 1951.

The State Assembly unanimously elected Karan Singh as the first Sadar-i-Riyasat on 14th November 1952. He assumed office on 17th when a salute of 21 guns was given to him. The rejoicings broke all previous records, the occasion being 'Magna Carta' for the people of Kashmir. The new flag and the new emblem were also publicly adopted on this day under Indo-Kashmir agreement of 1952.

The people of Jammu led by Praja Parishad launched a satyagraha movement immediately after the above decisions were implemented which spread throughout the Province. There was mob violence also on various occasions and at various places which resulted in firing. The agitation demonstrated that the people of Jammu were not with the people of Kashmir, in spite of India's common link. The movement received momentum when later on Hindu Mahasabha, Jan Sangh and Ram Rajya Parishad supported it. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee, President Jan Sangh, entered the State without obtaining a permit. He was taken into custody on the border and removed to a villa in Nishat Bagh (Kashmir) where he died as a detenu. Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru at last made an appeal for the withdrawal of the agitation but the wrong was already done. The movement was, however, formally withdrawn in July, 1953.

It is many a local grievance which led to the agitation. The Dogra pride had been

stirred up. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah had repeatedly referred to Jammu massacre of 1947 in his public speeches. Durga Dass mounted to the same fame as underground leader as Mohi-ud-Din (Kara) had mounted during the "Quit Kashmir" movement in 1946. Praja Parishad agitation did not go unnoticed in Kashmir where for the first time since 1947 pro-Pakistan slogans were publicly raised. A fresh chapter was opened in the history of Kashmir when on August 8, Sadar-i-Riasat dismissed Sh. Mohammad Abdullah and appointed Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad as Prime Minister who took over on August 9. Of late Sh. Mohd. Abdullah who was mentally confused all along was planing to drift away from India subtly to carve out an independent state of Kashmir with or without Jammu. This created a rift in the Cabinet as well as the National Conference High Command. A nominal stir did follow in the Valley but this was soon overcome. Bakhshi Government announced many salutary reforms such as abolition of 40-year old mujwaza (compulsory levy), reduction in the price of Shali, free education upto post-graduate standard, reduction in *Abiana*, reorganisation of Government services, abolition of customs from April 1954, extension of co-operative credits, appointment of Public Services Commission. The new Government also ratified Indo-Kashmir Agreement of 1951 after it was unanimously voted by the Constituent Assembly on February 6, 1954 as part of the Constitution still on the anvil. It was a bold step since the

Kashmir problem had not yet been solved through the good offices of United Nations Organisation. What followed from this was (*a*) financial integration with India (*b*) internal autonomy (*c*) amendment of State Subjects' Definition of 1927 entitling every one to become a state subject after ten years of continuous residence in the State (*d*) formal transfer of ceded and centrally administered subjects to India.

Bakhshi diagnosed the disease which was eating into the vitals of the society like a canker. The disease was scarcity and high price of food stuffs, small pays, growing taxes, costly education, debts, mujwaza and what not. Sh. Mohd. Abdullah probably wanted to use mass discontent as a trump card in favour of independence. To say he was blind to this is to do him injustice. Bakhshi turned the corner. But it is not all well. The armies of India and Pakistan are still facing each other across the Ceasefire Line as they have been for the last six years. Kashmir is the apple of discord. What is coming ahead baffles even surmise. And yet it is no bed of roses for Bakhshi so long as Abdullah is in Jail.

In spite of huge economic and educational projects undertaken by Bakhshi Govt. the revenue of the State mounted to Rs. 5.5 Crores for 1954-55 turning the deficit of 34 lakhs into surplus by fiscal integration with the Government of India which extended a grant of Rs. 250 lakhs to the State. Since 1947 when the State acceded to India, the total loan obtained from

India amounted to 8 crores and 61 lakhs.* This was necessary to adjust the reduced revenue of the State to increased demands. Over and above this there came a huge aid also and yet the economic distress mounted up. The leadership was tried and it was found wanting. An University Degree is not necessarily the key to success. Bakhshi apparently proved a greater success than Abdullah. Even a backward district like Ladakh received a fair deal and her representative was taken into the cabinet.

A high altitude cosmic rays research observatory was formally inaugurated on April 4 this year at Gulmarg (9,000 ft. high) under the joint auspices of the Universities of Kashmir and Aligarh thus reviving the ancient intellectual integration between India and Kashmir.

The Banihal tunnel through the Pir Panjal range surveyed last year and expected to be completed in a couple of years at an estimated cost of three crores of rupees will be one of the longest road tunnels in the world and will finalise commercial integration of Kashmir with India, the former road link which connected India with Kashmir through Rawalpindi having fallen into adverse possession since 1947.

Jammu turned en fete during the 4-day visit of President of India in April this

*Loan	Rs.	86305000
Aid	,,	63358000
Jammu-Pathankote Road	,,	32400000
Development Schemes	,,	23380000
Total	,,	205443000

year who was greeted with nation building projects such as Arts and Crafts Exhibition, Boulevard round the Tawi, widened old Bawda bazar, Gandhi Bhawan etc. His first official visit to Srinagar in 1950 had provided a similar fillip to Kashmir. These visits are unlike the visits of former British Viceroys. Previously the host used to be the Maharaja. Now the hosts are the people. The previous hospitality laid greater stress on catering, shikar and presents. Jammu had never known such an Exhibition before. Replying to an address of welcome presented by the Jammu Municipality, the President of India—Dr. Rajendra Prasad said that history and mutual understanding had cemented the ancient ties between Kashmir and India to such an extent that any break in the relationship was inconceivable.

The customs barrier between India and the State was removed from April 13 giving way to octroi duty chargeable on weight. Goods coming from abroad entered the state under bond. The customs duty was imposed on goods entering the State through India. It yielded a revenue of over one crore of rupees. This included the amount payable from various departments in State account. The government of India made this loss good having already included it in the 250 lakhs grant. This gave a great relief to the people after a period of about 108 years. But the permit system still continues. It was this permit system that Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee wanted to do away with.

PRESIDENT OF INDIA'S ORDER ON KASHMIR

The President of India on May 14 issued an Order under Article 370 of the Constitution implementing the decisions of the Jammu and Kashmir State Constituent Assembly on the Constitutional relationship between the State and the Indian Union.

The Order which came into effect immediately, fully covers the points included in the Delhi Agreement of 1952 except in regard to the Head of the State, provisions relating to whom are to be embodied in the State Constitution.

Under the Order, Parts 1 to 3, 5 and 11 to 22 of the Constitution of India will be applied to Jammu and Kashmir with appropriate modifications. These relate to citizenship and fundamental rights, the legislative, executive and judicial organs of the Union and their powers, relation between the Union and the State, finance, trade, commerce and intercourse within the Union, elections to the Union legislative bodies, etc.

In applying these Parts of the Indian Constitution certain modifications have been made, in view of the special circumstances of the State and in implementation of the Delhi Agreement. To remove any apprehension that a closer union might prejudicially affect the interests of the permanent residents of the State, the

State Legislature has been authorised to make laws safe-guarding the interests of the permanent residents of the State in regard to matters like the acquisition of immovable property, settlement in the State and employment under the State Govt.

The State Legislature has been given power to impose such restrictions on the exercise of rights relating to freedom of speech and expression, right to form associations and unions and to move freely within the State as may be necessary to safeguard the security of the State, part of whose territory is now in occupation of an alien power; but this special authority would be available only for five years from Friday (May 14).

The Order makes provision to safeguard the land reforms effected in the State a few years ago.

The Supreme Court of India will exercise practically the same jurisdiction in Jammu and Kashmir as in other parts of the country. Besides being the guarantor of the fundamental rights the Supreme Court will have original jurisdiction under Articles 131 of the Constitution and appellate jurisdiction in regard to civil and criminal cases. It will be the final judicial authority to interpret the Constitution.

The financial relationship as well as the allocation of taxation powers between the Centre and Jammu and Kashmir State will now be

the same as those existing between the Central Government and other Part 'A' or Part 'B' States.

All the important provisions relating to the freedom of inter-State trade and commerce are being applied in full. As a result, customs duties levied by the State Government are being removed. Trade between the State and other parts of the Union will now be free and is expected to expand.

While the bulk of the Union list will be applicable, there are important exceptions, for example, the State will retain exclusive competence in regard to matters relating to industrial and mineral development, census and company laws.

Similarly, powers relating to the Constitution and organisation of the State High Court, its powers and jurisdiction are also matters within the exclusive competence of the State.

The Concurrent List will not also apply. Again, residuary authority vests in the State. These exceptions mark the special position accorded to the State within the constitutional framework.

The new order is called "The Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order, 1954", and supersedes a previous order of the same title issued in 1952 applying the

provisions of the Constitution relating only to Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications in respect of which the State acceded to the Union in 1947.

Article 370, under which the new comprehensive order has been issued, had left further extension of the Union's jurisdiction or the application of other parts of the Constitution to be made with the concurrence of the Constituent Assembly of the State.

TEXT OF ORDER

The following is the text of the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order, 1954, issued by the President of India on 14th May:

In exercise of the powers conferred by Clause (1) of Article 370 of the Constitution, the President, with the concurrence of the Government of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, is pleased to make the following order:—

1. (1) This order may be called the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order, 1954.

(2) It shall come into force on the fourteenth day of May, 1954, and shall thereupon supersede the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order, 1950.

2. The provisions of the Constitution, which, in addition to Article 1 and Article 370, shall apply in relation to the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and the exceptions and modification subject to which they shall so apply shall be as follows:—

(1) The Preamble

(2) Part I:

To Article 3, there shall be added the following further proviso, namely:

"Provided further that no bill providing for increasing or diminishing the area of the State of Jammu and Kashmir or altering the name or boundary of that State shall be introduced in Parliament without the consent of the Legislature of that State".

(3) Part II:

(A) This part shall be deemed to have been applied in relation to the State of Jammu and Kashmir as from the 26th day of January, 1950.

(B) To Articles 7, there shall be added the following further proviso, namely:—

"Provided further that nothing in this Article shall apply to a permanent resident of the State of Jammu and Kashmir who, after having so migrated to the territory now included in Pakistan, returns to the territory of that state under a permit for resettlement in that State or permanent return issued by or under

the authority of any law made by the Legislature of that State and every such person shall be deemed to be a citizen of India".

(4) **Part III:**

(A) In Article 12, references to the commencement of the Constitution shall be construed as references to the commencement of this Order.

(B) In Clause (4) of Article 15, the reference to Scheduled Tribes shall be omitted.

(C) In Clause (3) of Article 16, the reference to the State shall be construed as not including a reference to the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

(D) In Article 19, for a period of five years from the commencement of this Order —

(I) In Clauses (3) and (4) after the words "in the interests of", "the security of the State" shall be inserted.

(II) In Clause (5) for the words "or for the protection of the interests of any Scheduled Tribes", the words "or in the interests of the security of the State "shall be substituted; and

(III) The following new Clauses shall be added namely

(7) The words "reasonable restrictions" occurring in Clauses (2),(3), (4) and (5) shall be construed as meaning such restrictions as the appropriate legislature deems reasonable."

(E) In Clauses (4) and (7) of Article 22 for the word "Parliament", the words "the Legislature of the State" shall be substituted.

(F) In Article 31 Clauses (3), (4) and (6) shall be omitted; and for Clause (5) there shall be substituted the following Clause, namely :—

"(5) Nothing in Clause (2) shall affect—(A) the provisions of any existing law; or (B) the provisions of any law which the State may hereafter make—(I) for the purpose of imposing or levying any tax or penalty; or (II) for the promotion of public health or the prevention of danger to life or property or (III) with respect to property declared by law to be evacuee property.

(G) In Article 31A, the proviso to Clause (1) shall be omitted; and for Sub-Clause (A) of Clause (2) the following Sub-Clause shall be substituted, namely :—

"(A) "Estate" shall mean land which is occupied or has been let for agricultural purposes or for purposes subservient to agriculture, or for pasture, and includes —(I) sites of buildings and other structures on such land; (II) trees standing on such land; (III) forest land and wooded waste; (IV) area covered by or fields floating over water; (V) sites of jandars and gharats; (VI) any jagir, inam, muafi or mukarari or other similar grant :

"But does not include—(I) the site of any building in any town, or town area or village abadi or any land appertenant to any such

building or site; (II) any land which is occupied as the site of a town or village ; or (III) any land reserved for building purposes in a Municipality or Notified Area or Cantonment or Town Area or any area for which a town planning scheme is sanctioned."

(H) In article 32 clause (3) shall be omitted and after Clause (2) the following new clause shall be inserted namely :—

"(2A) Without prejudice to the powers conferred by Clauses (1) and (2) the High Court have powers throughout the territories in relation to which it exercises jurisdiction to issue to any person or authority, including in appropriate cases any Government within those territories, directions or orders or writs, including writs in the nature of habeas corpus, mandamus, prohibition, quo warranto and certiorari, or any of them, for the enforcement of any of the rights conferred by this part".

(I) In Article 35:—(I) references to the commencement of the Constitution shall be construed as references to the commencement of this order ;

(II) In Clause (A) (1) the words, figures and brackets "Clause (3) of Article 16 Clause (3) of Article 32 "shall be omitted, and (III) after Clause (B) the following Clause shall be added namely :—

(C) No law with respect to preventive detention made by the Legislature of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, whether before or after

the commencement of the Constitution (application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order, 1954, shall be void on the ground that it is inconsistent with any of the provisions of this part, but any such law shall, to the extent of such inconsistency, cease to have effect on the expiration of five years from the commencement of the said Order, except as respects things done or omitted to be done before the expiration thereof."

(J) After Article 35, the following new Article shall be added namely :

"35A, saving of laws with respect to permanent residents and their rights:—notwithstanding anything contained in this Constitution no existing law in force in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and no law hereafter enacted by the Legislature of the State.

(A) defining the classes of persons who are or shall be permanent residents of the State of Jammu and Kashmir; or

(B) conferring on such permanent residents any special rights and privileges or imposing upon other persons any restrictions as respects :—

(I) employment under the State Government (II) acquisition of immovable property in the State; (III) settlement in the State; or (IV) right to scholarships and such other forms of aid as the State Government may provide.

Shall be void on the ground that it is inconsistent with or takes away or abridges

any rights conferred on the other citizens of India by any provision of this part."

(5) **Part V.**

(A) In Articles 54 and 55, references to the elected members of the House of the People and to each such member shall include references to the representatives of the State of Jammu and Kashmir in that House ; and the population of the State shall be deemed to be 44,10,000.

(B) In the proviso to Clause (1) of Article 73, the words "or any law made by Parliament" shall be omitted.

(C) Article 81 shall apply subject to the modification that the representatives of the State in the House of the People shall be appointed by the President on the recommendations of the Legislature of the State.

(D) In Article 134, Clause (2) after the words "Parliament may", the words "on the request of the Legislature of the State" shall be inserted.

(E) Articles 135, 136 and 139 shall be omitted.

(F) In Articles 149 and 150, references to the States shall be construed as not including the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

(G) In Article 151, Clause (2) shall be omitted.

(6) **Part XI.**

(A) In Article 26, the words, brackets and

figures "notwithstanding" anything in Clause (2) and (3)" occurring in Clause (1) and Clauses (2), (3) and (4) shall be omitted.

(B) Articles 248 and 249 shall be omitted.

(C) In Article 250, for the words "to any of the matters enumerated in the State list," the words "also to matters not enumerated in the Union list" shall be substituted.

(D) In Article 251, for the words and figures "Articles 249 and 250, the word and figure "Article 250" shall be substituted, and the words "under this Constitution" shall be omitted and for the words "under either of the said Articles" the words "under the said Article" shall be substituted.

(E) To Article 253, the following proviso shall be added, namely :

Provided that after the commencement of the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order, 1954, no decision affecting the disposition of the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall be made by the Government of India without the consent of the Government of that State.

(F) In Article 254, the words brackets and figures "or to any provision of any existing law with respect to one of the matters enumerated in the Concurrent list then subject to the provisions of Clause (2)" and the words "or as the case may be, the existing law," occurring in Clause

(1) and the whole of Clause (2) shall be omitted.

(G) Article 255 shall be omitted.

(H) Article 256 shall be renumbered as Clause (1) of that Article, and the following new clause shall be added thereto namely:

"(2) the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall exercise its executive power as to facilitate the discharge by the Union of its duties and responsibilities under the constitution in relation to that State and in particular, the said State shall if so required by the Union acquire or requisition property on behalf and at the expense of the Union, or if the property belongs to the State, transfer it to the Union on such terms as may be agreed or in default of agreement, as may be determined by an arbitrator appointed by the Chief Justice of India".

(I) Article 259 shall be omitted.

(J) In clause (2) of Article 261, the words "made by Parliament" shall be omitted.

(7) Part XII.

(A) Clause (2) of Article 267, Article 273. Clause (2) of Article 283. Articles 290 and 291 shall be omitted.

(B) In Articles 266, 282, 284,2 in 200 and 3C0, references to the State or States shall be construed as not including references to the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

(C) In Articles 277 and 295, references to the commencement of the Constitution shall be construed as references to the commencement of the Order.

(8) Part XIII.

(A) in Clause (1) of Article 303, the words "by virtue of any entry relating to trade and commerce in any of the lists in the Seventh Schedule" shall be omitted.

(B) In Article 306, references to the commencement of the Constitution shall be construed as reference to the commencement of this Order.

(9) Part XIV.

In Article 308, after the words "First Schedule." the words "other than the State of Jammu and Kashmir" shall be added.

(10) Part XV.

(A) Article 324 shall apply only in so far as it relates to elections to Parliament and to the offices of President and Vice-President.

(B) Articles 325, 326, 327, 328 and 329 shall be omitted.

(11) Part XVI.

(A) In Article 330, references to the "Scheduled Tribes" shall be omitted.

(B) Articles 331, 332, 333, 336, 337, 339 and 342 shall be omitted.

(C) In Articles 334 and 335, references to the State or the States shall be construed as not including references to the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

(12) Part XVII.

The provisions of this part shall apply only in so far as they relate to:

(I) The official language of the Union :

(II) The official language for communication between one State and another, or between a State and the Union: and

(III) The language of the proceedings in the Supreme Court.

(13) Part XVIII.

(A) To Article 352, the following new clause shall be added, namely;

"(4) *No proclamation of emergency made on grounds only of internal disturbance or imminent danger thereof shall have effect in relation to the State of Jammu and Kashmir (except as respects Article* 354) *unless it is made at the request or with the concurrence of the Government of that State.*"

(*B*) Article 356, 357 and 360 shall be omitted.

(14) Part XIX.

(A) In Article 361, after Clause (4), the following clause shall be added, namely:

(5) *The provisions of this article shall apply in relation to the Sadar-i-Riyasat of Jammu and Kashmir as they apply in relation to a Rajpramukh, but without prejudice to the provisions of the Constitution of that State.*"

(B) Articles 362 and 365 shall be omitted.

(C) In Article 36, Clause (21) shall be omitted.

(D) To Article 367, there shall be added the following clause namely :

(1) For the purpose of this constitution as it applies in relation to the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

(A) References to this constitution or to the provisions thereof shall be construed as references to the constitution or the provisions thereof as applied in relation to the said State;

(B) References to the Government of the said State shall be construed as including references to the Sadar-i-Riyasat acting on the advice of his Council of Ministers :

(C) References to a High Court shall include references to the High Court of Jammu and Kashmir;

(D) References to the Legislature or the Legislative Assembly of the said State shall be construed as including references to the Constituent Assembly of the said State;

(E) References to the permanent residents of the said State shall be construed as meaning persons who before the commencement of the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order, 1954, were recognised as State subjects under the law in force in the State or who are recognised by any law made by the legislature of the State as permanent residents of the State, and

(F) References to the Rajpramukh shall be

construed as references to the persons for the time being recognised by the President as the Sadar-i-Riyasat of Jammu and Kashmir and as including reference to any person for the time being recognised by the President as being competent to exercise the powers of the Sadar-i-Riyasat.

(15) Part XX.

To Article 368, the following proviso shall be added, namely:

"Provided further that no such relation to the State of Jammu and Kashmir unless applied by order of the President under Clause (1) of Article 370."

(16) Part XXI.

(A) Articles 369, 373, Clause (1), (2), (3) and (5) of Article 374 and Article 376 to 392 shall be omitted

(B) in Article 372.

(I) Clauses (2) and (3) shall be omitted;

(II) References to the laws in force in the territory of India shall include references to hidayats, ailans, ishtihars, circulars, robkars, irshads, yadashts. State Council resolutions, resolutions of the Constituent Assembly, and other instruments having the force of law in the territory of the State of Jammu and Kashmir; and

(III) References to the commencement of the Constitution shall be construed as references to the commencement of this order.

(C) In Clause (4) of Article 374, the reference to the authority functioning as the Privy Council of a State shall be construed as a reference to the Advisory Board constituted under the Jammu and Kashmir Constitution Act, 1996, and references to the commencement of the Constitution shall be construed as reference to the commencement of this Order.

(17) Part XXII.

Articles 394 and 395 shall be omitted.

(18) First Schedule.
(19) Second Schedule.

Paragraph 6 shall be omitted.

(20) Third Schedule.

Forms V, VI, VII and VIII shall be omitted

(21) Fourth Schedule.
(22) Seventh Schedule.

(A) In the Union List.

(I) For entry 3, the entry 3. Administration of Cantonments shall be substituted;

(II) Enteries 8, 9, 33 and 34, the words "trading corporations including" in entry 43, entries 44, 50, 52, 54, 55, 60, 67, 69, 78 and 79, the words "inter-State migration" in entry 81 and entry 97 shall be omitted:

(III) For entry 53, the entry 53 .

Petroleum and petroleum products but excluding the regulation and development of oilfields and mineral oil resources: other liqsuid

and substances declared by Parliament by law to be dangerously inflammable" shall be substituted; and

(IV) In enteries 72 and 76, the reference to the States shall be construed as not including a reference to the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

(B) The State List and the Concurrent List shall be omitted.

(23) Eighth Schedule.

(24) Ninth Schedule.

After entry 13, the following entries shall be added namely:

14. The Jammu and Kashmir Big Landed Estates Abolition Act (NO. XVII of 2007).

15. The Jammu and Kashmir Restitution of Mortgaged Properties Act (No. XVI of 2006).

16. The Jammu and Kashmir Tenancy Act (No. II of 1980).

17. The Jammu and Kashmir Distressed Debtors Relief Act (No. XVII of 2006).

18. The Jammu and Kashmir Alienation of Land Act (No. V of 1995).

19. Order No. 6-H of 1951, dated March 10, 1951, regarding resumption of Jagirs and other assignments of land revenue etc.

20. The Jammu and Kashmir State Kuth Act (No. 1 of 1798)"

CHAPTER XIII

TRADE TREATY

Under the Treaty of the 2nd May, 1870, between the British Government and the Maharaja Bahadur of Jammu and Kashmir, the British Government undertook to refund to His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur the duties on all goods declared at ports in British India as bonded for Kashmir and to the importers duty on all such goods declared for Central Asia, on the Maharaja Bahadur's undertaking to return to free trade between Central Asia and British India through Kashmir exempt from taxation and restrictions of any kind. The following are the terms of the Treaty :—

Whereas in the interest of the high contracting parties and their respective subjects, it is deemed desirable to afford greater facilities than at present exist for the development and security of the trade with Central Asia, the following articles have, with this object, been agreed upon:

Article I.—With the consent of the Maharaja, officers of the British Government will be appointed to survey the trade routes through the Maharaja's territories from the British Frontier of Lahoul to the territories of the Ruler of Yarkand, including the route via the Changchenmo

Valley. The Maharaja will depute an officer of his Government to accompany the surveyors, and will render them all the assistance in his power. A map of the routes surveyed will be made, an attested copy of which will be given to the Maharaja.

Article II.—Whichever route towards the Changchenmo Valley shall after examination and survey as above, be declared by the British Government to be best suited for the development of trade with Central Asia, shall be declared by the Maharaja to be a free high way in perpetuity and at all times for the travellers & traders.

Article III.—For the supervision and maintenance of the road in its entire length through the Maharaja's territories, the regulation of traffic on the free highway described in Article II, the enforcement of regulations that may hereafter be agreed upon, and the settlement of disputes between carriers, traders, travellers or others using that road, in which either of the parties or both of them are subjects of the British Government or any Foreign State, two Commissioners shall be annually appointed, one by the British Government and one by the Maharaja. In the discharge of their duties, and as regards the period of their residence, the Commissioners shall be guided by such rules as are now separately framed and may from time to time hereafter be laid down by the joint authority of the British Government and the Maharaja.

Article IV.—The jurisdiction of the Commissioners shall be defined by a line on each side

of the road at a maximum width of two statute kos, except where it may be deemed by the Commissioners necessary to include a wider extent for grazing grounds. Within this maximum width, the surveyors appointed under Article I, shall demarcate on a map the limits of jurisdiction which may be decided by the Commissioners as most suitable, including grazing grounds; and the jurisdiction of the Commissioners shall not extend beyond the limits so demarcated. The land included within these limits shall remain in the Maharaja's independent possession; and subject to the stipulations contained in this Treaty, the Maharaja shall continue to possess the same rights of full sovereignty therein as the other parts of his territories, which rights shall not be interfered with in any way by the Joint Commissioners.

Article V.—The Maharaja agreed to give all possible assistance in enforcing the decisions of the Commissioners, and in preventing the breach of evasion of the regulation established under Article III.

Article VI.—The Maharaja agreed that any person, whether a subject of British Government or of the Maharaja or of the Ruler of Yarkand, or of any Foreign State, may settle at any place within the jurisdiction of the Joint-Commissioners, and may provide, keep and maintain and let for hire at different stages the means of carriage and transport for the purpose of trade.

Article VII.—The two Commissioners shall be empowered to establish supply depots, and to

authorise other persons to establish such places on the road as may appear to them suitable; to fix the rates at which provisions shall be sold to traders, carriers, settlers and others, and fix the rent to be charged for the use of any rest houses or serais that may be established on the road. The officers of the British Government in Kullu, etc., and officers of the Maharaja in Ladakh, shall be instructed to use their best endeavours to supply provisions on the Indent of the Commissioners at market rates.

Article VIII.—The Maharaja agrees to levy no transit duty whatever on the aforesaid highway; and the Maharaja further agrees to abolish all transit duties levied within his territories from Central Asia to India and vice versa of which bulk may not be taken within the territories of His Highness. On goods imported or exported from His Highness' territory, whether by the aforesaid free highway or by any other route, the Maharaja may levy such import duty or export duty as he may think fit.

Article IX.—The British Government agrees to levy no duty on goods transmitted in bond through British India to Central India or to the territories of His Highness the Maharaja. The British Government further agrees to abolish the export duties now levied on shawls or other textile fabrics manufactured in the territories of the Maharaja and exported to countries beyond the limits of British India.

CHAPTER XV

LEASE OF GILGIT

Agreement between the British Government and Colonel His Highness Maharaja Harisingh, Inder Mohinder Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., A.D.C., Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, his heirs and successors, executed on the one part by Lieutenant-Colonel Lionel Edward Lang, C.I.E., M.C., in virtue of full powers vested in him by His Excellency the Right Honourable Freeman-Thomas, Earl of Willingdon, P.C., G.M.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.M.I.E., G.B.E. Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and on the other part by Colonel His Highness Maharaja Harisingh aforesaid.

It is hereby agreed as follows:—

Article 1.—The Viceroy and Governor-General of India may at any time after the ratification of this agreement assume the civil and military administration of so much of the Wazarat of Gilgit Province (herein after referred to as the "said territory") of the State of Jammu and Kashmir as lies beyond the right bank of the river Indus, but notwithstanding anything in this agreement the said territory shall continue to be included within the dominions of His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.

Article 2.—In recognition of the fact that the said territory continue to be included within the dominion of His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir salutes and customary honours shall be paid in the said territory by the Administration on the occasion of the birthday of His Highness, on Baisakhi, Dussehra, Basant Panchami and on such other occasions as may be agreed upon by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India. The flag of His Highness will be flown at the official headquarters of the Agency throughout the year.

Article 3.—In normal circumstances no British or British Indian troops shall be despatched through that portion of the wazarat of Gilgit Province which lies beyond the left bank of the river Indus.

Article 4.—All rights pertaining to mining are reserved to His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. The grant of prospecting licenses and mining leases will not be made during the period of the agreement mentioned below:

Article 5.—This agreement shall remain in force for sixty years from the date of its ratification and the lease will terminate at the end of that period.

Signed and exchanged at Jammu this 26th day of the month of March 1935.

CHAPTER XV

CONCLUSION

We study from the history of the past that the Kashmiris were no aboriginies living in mere jungle. Their jungle was the sacred land to which the scholars of the world paid homage. Even to the present day the sacred city of Banaras—the Hindu Rome of India—acknowledges the intellectual superiority of Kashmir. Every boy there walks seven paces towards Kashmir at the time when his thread ceremony takes place. Alberuni* (1017-1030 A.D.) says that Banaras and Kashmir are the high schools of Hindu Science. It is Kashmir that produced the greatest historians, poets and philosophers. "The country once enjoyed great fame as the seat of the original paradise of the human race and was in earliest time one of the principal seats of Indian culture." The Kashmiris of today descend from the mighty sages of the past who have left behind a rich legacy, not in the shape

*Elsewhere he says, 'No one is admitted to Kashmir now except Jews. Even formerly accredited persons alone were admitted. . . . The Sindh rises in the Kalarjak mountain where you reach through Gilgit where live the Bhutta Turks. Their King is called Bhutta Shah.' (This shows that these Turks were Hindus and Gilgit according to Sir George Grierson still shows traces of Vedic civilization and language).

of jewels and palaces, but more valuable than them, in the shape of "Books: Venus: Books:" It is the Kashmiris who always became the intellectual masters of every power that subjugated their country.

Kashmir was too deeply rooted in its traditions to wither away under the storm of foreign conquest. The old ascetic life has survived the shock of as many centuries of alien tyrannical rule. The people have known prosperity, poverty, religious strife, wars with invaders, shocks of earthquakes, floods, famines, plagues and pestilences. Even the royal holiday-makers were no exception to such shocks. Shah Jahan himself once took shelter in a fisherman's boat to save himself from the rushing torrent. Such are the Kashmiris, the mighty sons of their mighty sires.

The account recorded in these few pages is only a brief review of an interval of about five to seven thousand years. The boys now reading history at school will find many a surprise as they will grow up, but the lessons of history will not have been wasted if they learn the value of studying the past impartially.

The Kashmiri race which has survived the rude shocks of history comes from one stock, inherit one culture and speak one common tongue. Religion has played a small part in their daily life. Under foreign rule they lost martial instinct, but they retained their gifted

intelligence which is exhibited by their arts and crafts. They figured in literature, medicine, arts and crafts, sculpture, music, painting, calligraphy and what not. Here are a few names:—Habha Khatun, Mulla Mohsin Fani, Mohd. Azam, Hassan Shah, Lal Ded (1343-45), Mahjoor, Parmanand, Ghani and now Arif, Nadim, Masterji etc. etc.

CHAPTER XVI

CHARACTER OF THE KASHMIRIS*

Kashmiris have easy and pleasant lives. In times of danger they show much courage and endurance. Physically they are among the finest people on earth. Their physique, their character and their language are so marked as to produce a nationality of its own. Intellectual superiority, keenness of perception, clearness of mind and ingenuity dominate their character. Alert intelligence, quick wit and artistic feeling show in them signs of a bright future. They are essentially of mild and cheerful disposition. Their versatile genius wins laurels for them everywhere. They are extremely hospitable and carry the arts of civil life to high perfection. Sir Francis Younghusband remarks "In spite of the splendid Moghuls, brute Pathans, bullying Sikhs and rude Dogras the Kashmiris ever remained the same." The conquerors came in hordes but they scarcely touched the soul of the people. Says Bernier, "Kashmiris are celebrated for wit and considered much more intelligent and

*Bulk of this Chapter is taken from an article headed "Character of the Kashmiris" by the author which appeared in the United India and Indian States in 1923 A.D. (published then from Madras).

ingenious than the Indians. In Poetry and Science they are not inferior to the Persians. They are also very active and industrious." It is possible for a people to deteriorate under foreign yoke and that is why a Kashmiri did not mind to speak a lie sometimes. Men and women generally dress alike. The Pheran,* a long loose gown, is the principal item of their dress. This helps to breed cowardice in them. Without it they look like a fine race. Untouchability between the two sister communities is quite unknown. However you may annoy him, the Kashmiri will never attempt to offend you. To provoke his neighbour is not in his scheme. Recent events have shown that the Kashmiris are not timid. "The isolation from the outer world accounted for the stable unchanging nationality of the Kashmiris till Pratap Singh's reign." Cunningham says that "Kashmiris are the most immortal race of India".

Says Dr. Neve—"On the whole the Kashmiris are grateful to benefits. Their moral sense is fairly developed. They readily distinguish from right and wrong." As recorded in the Rucat-i-Alamgiri—Aurangzeb is believed to have said at Agra "The Kashmiris are not

*The Kashmiri Pandits have begun to discard it now along with other social evils. It is held that the Kashmiris adopted it from the Jews, just as they picked up other traits from them. Pheron and Kangri are also traced to Badshah's time. Pheron and Kangri (Scaldino) is borrowed from Italians according to Dr. Elmslie but it is mentioned in Rajtarangini also (iii 171).

to be found here that we might appoint them in Public offices." Writes Dr. Neve of the Pandits elsewhere, "Their intellectual superiority over the rest of the population must be admitted. They are quick of apprehensions and have good memories. One of their besetting faults is conceit. But some of them are very superior, trustworthy, honest, clear-headed and industrious." A French gentleman, M. Hick, has written that the Kashmiris are a race of most superior order in every respect. "The Kashmiris resemble the Konkanasthas and their countries also resemble as they both produce rice which accounts for their intelligence. But in two respects the two people differ. The Kashmiris are eaters of flesh from ancient times and have not given up flesh-eating even now. The Konkanasthas appear to have been vegetarians from ancient days. The former again usually wear the beard but the latter do not. (The beard looks rare now). Beards in Kashmir are ancient and pre-Mohammedan as we have already seen from Kalhana's description of Brahmins collected for the election of a King."

The following passages from "The India We Served" by Sir W.R. Lawrence who worked in Kashmir for some time will be read with great interest. "The Kashmiris are called Hawabin. Nowhere in the East have I met anybody of men so clever and so courteous as the Kashmiri Pandits..........The people were Kashmiris as they are, in spite of centuries

of repression and wanton cruelty. Physically they were splendid, in spite of the effeminate dress which foreign tyrants had imposed on them. As cultivators, as artisans and as artists they are unrivalled in the East and for brains the Kashmiri Pandit is hard to beat, as all India knows well. They are to be found in many provinces of British India and in the Indian States in the higher ranks of officialdom. And I say after careful examination that the Kashmiris are perhaps as great a people as any in the East........But they will beat all three—Rajputs, Pathans and Punjabis as cultivators, as artisans or as wits. *I saw also the growth of self-respect and of manliness and am confident that under a just Government they will win a good name.* They not only know the facts but had the most surprising genius for appraising the real value of other men's lands. They supported their valuation by most logical and convincing arguments and during my 21 years in India I have never met the equal of these Kashmiri sages."

"The type of the old Pandits—these literati, were, to be sure excellent people and admirably versed in their Sanskrit texts but they were devoid of historical sense and their intellectual horizon was bounded by the narrow limits of their native valley......but the race possessed exceptional intellectual qualities"........ Prof. A Foucher.

Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar in his book

"History of Aurangzeb, Volume V, 1924 edition, Page 415." writes:—

"So backward were the people in civilisation that even the upper classes of Kashmiris were deemed unfit to be employed in the Imperial Service as Mansabdars, till near the end of Aurangzeb's reign. We learn that it was only in 1699 that the Emperor was first introduced by the then Subedar to appoint people of Kashmir as Mansabdars in any appreciable number.........No Kashmiri Hindu gained any office under the Moghul Empire. And as for the common Muslims of the province if they were villagers they were despised as ignorant savages, and townsmen as lying flatterers and cowardly cheats. In this universal closing of honourable and resposible careers to talent, the intellectual cleverness of certain classes of the natives developed into glibness of tongue, low cunning and skill in treacherous intrigue so that in Moghul India a Kashmiri came to be a by-word for a smooth-spoken rogue as the Gracculus was in the early days of the Roman Empire". Prof. Sarkar says that this account is based on Tarikh-i-Azmi.

How this observation is misleading may be studied from the following quotations:—

Aurangzeb once paid a compliment to the intelligence of the Kashmiris specially that of the Pandits at Agra as is recorded in the Ruqat-i-Alamgiri:—

"Kashmiri Darin Mulk Nestand Ki ma muqqarar kunem" (The Kashmiris are not to be found here that we might appoint them in public offices).

Sir Walter again writes—"A man who can be beaten and robbed by any one with a vestige of authority soon ceases to respect himself and his fellowmen, and it is useless to look for the virtues of a free people among the Kashmiris, and unfair to twist them with the absence of such virtues. The Kashmiri is what his rulers have made him, but I believe and hope that two generations of a just and strong rule will transform him into a useful, intelligent and fair honest man."

CHAPTER XVII

THE FABRIC OF SOCIETY IN KASHMIR AS DEPICTED IN RAJTARANGINI

Religion:—Historians maintain that the real history of Kashmir begins with the reign of Asoka. Buddhism went on its way side by side with Hinduism. There was no religious antipathy which often leads to persecution. It sometimes happened that while the father adhered to one faith the son adhered to another (*iii* 2 *and* 99). Sometimes Kings and their Ministers also professed different faiths (*iii* 350 *and* 380). Grants of land to temples, Brahmins and monastries were immense but either diverted or confiscated (*iv*. 395, *v*. 170 *vi*, 175 *vii* 106,570,696 *and* 1344, *viii* 2756).

Atheists also there existed many. For instance, Kalhana narrates how the King's cousin came to the King with a grievance against his own son who wanted to oust him (*vii*. 252). Again Harsha would not have succeeded in his way had their been a really unanimous adverse public opinion (*vii*. 1090).

Caste:—There was no caste system during the reign of Asoka, Kanishka, Jashka and

Hashka (*i.* 170). Even if it did exist it was not so rigid as at present. Brahmins, however, seem to have existed as a distinct caste (*i.* 342, *iv.* 96 *and* 645).

References to caste commenced from Chandrapida. Lalitaditya's mother had been the wife of a foreign merchant (*iv.* 37). A tanner who prayed for an interview witht he king calls himself a pariah (*iv.* 76). The Prime Minister of Lalitaditya was a Mongolian and a Buddhist (*iv.* 211). A glimpse of Kayasthas may be had from *iv.* 621, *vii* 38 *and viii* 2383. Chandals *i.e.* men of impure caste are first mentioned in Jayapida's time (*iv.* 475). They worked as watchmen and scavengers (*v.* 74 *vi.* 76 *and* 192, *v.* 77). A reference to Vaishas may be found in the accounts of the eleventh century. Often persons of low caste rose to highest positions (*vii.* 207, *v.* 73, *iv.* 678, *viii* 3423, 3429, *vii.* 1460 *v* 389). Once a Prime Minister of Jayasinha treated 64 castes to excellent food at a sacrificial feast (*viii* 2407).

The first three books of Rajtarangini make no reference to Rajputs or Kshatriyas. Jayapida gave himself out to be a Rajput and won a beautiful bride. Rajputs are not again mentioned till the eleventh century. The army sent by King Trilokapala against Mahmud of Ghazni consisted of many Rajputs (*vii.* 48). We also find four arrogant Rajput princes at the court of the Kashmir king (*vii.* 274). From that time the number increased (*vii.* 325,360

and 368). Seldom did Kashmir tolerate non Kashmiris (*viii* 1328)* The word "Kshatriya" first appears as applied to king Harsha of Kashmir and so then to Bhoja, Prince Sangiva, Bhijja, Lanaraja and so on (*viii* 376, 3031, 3232, 3348, 1190 *and* 1191).

Though there existed some castes yet the great mass of population was not divided by any very rigid lines of demarcation. The process of differentiation was there but it never reached anything like the rigidity of caste system as displayed in modern India (*vi.* 130).

Institutions of Government:—Up to Asoka's time there were seven main state officials, the judge, the Revenue Superintendent , the Treasurer, the Commander of the Army, the Envoy, the Priest and the Astrologer. Asoka's successor established the traditional eighteen offices (*i.* 118). Lalitaditya appointed five princes to supervise these officials (*iv.* 141). These posts did not become generally hereditary.

There were regular law cases. Sometimes the king tried himself (*vi.* 14 *and* *viii* 123). People dissatisfied with law courts or with executive actions used to go out on hunger strike (just as in Japan) and commit suicide.

The king maintained regular spies or informers (the present C.I.D.) to give him all

* *The State Subjects' Definition passed in 1927 is a testimony to this.*

news of interest (*v.* 81, *viii* 511, *vi.* 14 *and iv.* 82). Mention of hunger-strikes is made in *viii* 939, *iv.* 99, *viii* 900, 658, 2224, *and* 2225, *vii.* 602. King Uccala hit on a novel method of keeping his judges honest. He took a vow that if anyone killed himself by hunger-strike he would himself commit suicide (*viii* 51). Deeds of sale were executed in writing.

Sometimes people were banished for forgery (*vi.* 30, 38, 41) Interest was rarely paid (*viii.* 155). The head of a family was taken to task for the immoral conduct of a woman (*viii.* 3336). Universities and hospitals existed everywhere (*iii.* 461 *vi.* 87). City prefects only amassed money in the time of a mean king. It is seldom that they introduced useful reforms (*vi.* 70, *viii.* 3335 *and* 3336). We find that the institution of Begar (forced labour) also existed (*v.* 174, *viii* 2513, *vii.* 1088). The land revenue was collected in kind through the Patwari (*v.* 175, *iv.* 628). Jayapida and rulers of his way of thinking often took the whole grain from the people (*iv.* 628, 347, 631, *vii* 1107). Yet there were benevolent rulers also who issued grain at cheap rates from the State granaries to relieve distress (*vii* 61).

Finance:—Collection of the revenue was on the whole irregular (*iv.* 189, *viii* 3335). Tolls were levied on the bridges (*viii.* 136) and customs were collected at the fortified Frontier posts. King's name in red lead was

stamped on goods which had paid customs (*viii.* 2010).

Army:—Infantry and cavalry composed the Army (*v.* 248). Passes were strongly fortified and jealously guarded under Dwarapati or Warden of the Marches. It was the general policy in those days to see that people got no opportunity to rise against their rulers (*iv.* 345, 346, 347, 348, 349—52). But this policy did not ultimately succeed as can be seen from the rise of the Damaras.

Customs and Habits:—Pardah was quite unknown. Sati was almost in fashion (*v.* 226, *xiii.* 448, 1223-24, *vii.* 858, 1380, 103, 481, 724, 478, 1486, 1579 *vi.* 107, *viii.* 445 *and* 1441) much more in Royal families than among the masses. Drinking spirit was held respectable among high class people (*viii.* 1466, *iv.* 310, *v.* 206, *vi.* 10150, *vii.* 285, *viii* 868 *and* 1866). Cats and dogs were kept as pets (*viii.* 139, 2413). Famines were due to isolation, internal commotions and freaks of nature such as floods, drought etc.

A disease called the Luta disease was much dreaded. Exhibitions of singing and dancing, religious festivals and pilgrimages were amusements of the people (*vii.* 515). Kings sometimes went jackal-hunting; throwing-spears were used (*vi.* 181). Dogs and nets were also used. Doms were the netters (*vi.* 182). Falcons were kept (*vii.* 1046). People used to bow to the

new Moon in the hope of getting new clothes (*viii*. 798). The art of gold plating on copper was introduced in the latter half of eleventh century (*vii*. 529, *viii*. 3364).

CHAPTER XVIII

PHENOMENA IN KASHMIR

There are many places and things in Kashmir which are peculiar in themselves and some of them quite beyond ordinary human comprehension. The orthodox Hindus, taking them as Divine manifestations, worship them while others consider that they are merely Nature's phenomena.

· 1. *Amarnath.*— The celebrated cave of Amarnath situated in a long glacial gorge high among the eastern mountains is visited by thousands of Hindu pilgrims from Kashmir and different parts of India on the full moon day of the month of Sawan (July-August) every year. It contains a self-formed Lingam of ice (the emblem of Siva) which increases and decreases with the waxing and the waning of the moon.

For this reason the cave is visited on a full moon day. It is sending out an irresistible call to the hundreds and thousands of pilgrims from the remotest corners of India who crawl up this height year after year. Some say that the Lingam is simply the stalactite and stalagmite described fully in books on Geology. These

are icicle like incrustations of lime, chalcedony etc., which often cover the roofs of caverns and fissures which arise from the dropping water holding these rock-matters in solution. Columns of these solid matter collect, rise and expand and, in course of time, become hard stone. They are found in many countries of the world including England. But these things are entirely different from the substance of the Lingam in the Amarnath cave. This Lingam is not impregnated with any matter but it is composed of simply pure water turned into ice. Nor is it an ice spring, as some say, for on Amavas day the ground on which it stands is found dry. There is of course gypsum in the cave but it does not form the ingredient of the ice Lingam. The water is thawing from the roof but it does not fall on the Lingam. This ice Lingam waxes and wanes with the moon stated above which has been observed by several reliable persons who have stayed at Panchatarni (6 miles this side of the cave) for a full month and have from there visited the cave daily. Had this Lingam been stalactites and stalagmites, many geologists and specially non-Hindus should have raised their derisive voice and they should have made this fact known to the world long long ago. On the contrary this phenomenon is considered wonderful by not only Indian philosophers including men like Swami Vivekananda who says in his book that he was all ecstacy on seeing it but also by European scientists aware of the formation of rock matters in caves and fissures. In fact

had this been the case in regard to Amarnath the cave should have been filled up by the sediments ages ago.

This pilgrimage is mentioned in Book 1,267 of the Rajtarangini in the accounts of King Nara who reigned in Kashmir in 1048-1008 B.C., which proves that even before the time of Kalhana, the author of the book who lived in the 12th century of the Christian Era, it was annually visited by pilgrims.

2. *Tulmula in Lar*:—There is a spring at this village the water of which char ges c lour every now and then. Som times it .s pink, sometimes green and so on. The Hindus worship there. A large fair is held at this place on the 8th and 15th day of the bright fortnight specially of Jeth (May-June).

3. *Takar in Uttarmachhipura*.—There is a spring the water of which like the Tulmula spring changes colour every now and then.

4. *Trisandhya or Sundabrari*.—This is the name of an intermittent spring in the south of the Divalgam village in Brang. It remains dry all the year round except in the month of Baisakh-Jeth (April-May). At first the water flows out continuously for some days as from an ordinary spring and then it does so at intervals, that is to say the spring becomes quite void of water and again the water re-appears and flows out. This intermittance occurs several

times in twenty four hours until in course of time the number of ebb and flow gradually dwindles down to three and then to nine. A Persian poet has written the following couplet describing this spring:—

Turfa aini hast do Kashmir namish sand brar
Amdu rafte ajab dard ba rox wa shab sah hal.

5. *Rudra Sandhya.*—This is also a spring like Trisandhya, dry during the whole year but flowing with water continuously for some days and then getting void of it at intervals during the months of Baisakh and Jeth (April-May). It is six miles from Verinag towards the west.

6. *Wasuknag.*—This is a large spring, six miles further west from Rudra Sandhya. It remains quite dry for six months of winter but flowing with water (which forms a big stream irrigating a large area) for six months of summer.

7. *Pavanasandhya.*—There is a spring of this name situated five miles to the east of Verinag. It ebbs and flows continuously as though it breathes Pavana or air like a living creature; hence its name. A fair is held there on the Amavas day of Bahadun. A Persian poet describes it in the following couplet:—

Chashmai digar ba Kashmir ast manish pona sand
Hast har dam wa raftash chu anflas rajal

8. *Sapta-Rishi.*—There are seven springs close to one another at Vithavatur near Verinag, which like Wasuknag remain dry for six month of winter and flowing with water during summer months.

9. *Halamapura in Uttarmachhipura.*—There are five springs near one another. A Lingam of stone is in one of these springs, which is said to move by itself round making one move from one corner to the other in one month. Some people explain this as below:—

The bed of the spring is sandy and its level varies with the action of water-oozing, which makes one corner higher and the other lower alternately, and thus the Lingam (which does not stand vertical but is lying in a horizontal position) in the bed of the spring rolls down from the higher to the lower corner under the law of gravitation.

10. *Dubjan in Shopyan:*—There is a spring called Tatadan, the water of which is warm. A similar spring exists at a place 68 miles from Anantnag across the Margan Pass.

11. *Brang:*—There is a spring at the village Gagar-Tahunda (10 miles from Anantnag towards Verinag) above Larikpura which is called Konnag by the Mohammedans and Sita-Kund by the Hindus. Some of the fish therein are blind in one eye.

12. *Lar:*—There is a lofty mountain called Haramukh in Lar. The popular notion is that a snake within sight of this mountain will not bite.

13. There is a cave temple called Dyaneshwar, on a hill 12 miles to the east of Bandipura above Sinthan village in the Arin Nulla, in which there are stone udders of cow on its ceiling from which water drops down below. It is reached through a narrow passage about a yard in diameter and two chains long. There is a self formed Lingam in it.

14. There is a cave at Bamzu to the north of Mattan, the length of which none has yet been able to find. Another similar cave exists at Beru in which the famous ascetic and philosopher Abhinava Gupta together with his 1,200 disciples is said to have entered and to have not returned.

15. There is a place called Swambhu or Suyam, half a mile to the south-west of the village Nichiham, in Machhipura, where after a long period, say once in 30 years, the earth gets heated for a year or so when the Hindus go there on pilgrimage. Rice with water in pots buried to neck into the earth gets cooked by this heat and the Hindus offer cakes of rice, thus cooked, in the name of their deceased relations. A flame is also produced by pouring down ghee, sugar and camphor in a hole dug

into the earth about a foot deep. This is evidently a volcanic phenomenon.

16. There is a tiny little island in the midst of the Jhelum, at Prayag on the junction of the Sind with the Jhelum, on which is a small Chinar which does not either grow taller or shorter or bigger though ages have passed since when it has been there.

17. *Wayyan Village* (*Wullar*). 11¾ miles to the south-east of Srinagar. There is a spring bathing in which has the effect of curing itch. There is also a similar spring at Anantnag called Malknag and also at Sadarqutabal, 22 miles from Srinagar on the Bandipur road. Medical men say that they are sulphurated hydrogen springs.

18. There is a spring on the top of the Sarbal mountain in Kashmir which is called Tsurnag. The water of it gushes out with great force, making whirls like the potter's wheel.

19. There is a rock on the top of the hillock called Haldar, over-looking the Mansabal Lake towards its north east. It rises 1/2 mile above the shrine of Baba Saleh or 2½ miles above the lake. The spot is called Maktaphikhar and is situated near the village called Ingura to the north of the Larkul Nallah. The ascent to it is over the plateau called Hanin. From underneath this rock a little

water is oozing out. Every year on the Nirjala Ikadashi day a fair is held here. The pilgrims sing in one chorus "Balbadra Haldharo Palaponi Traw" meaning.—O Balbadara Haldar, allow water to flow out from under this rock. Then suddenly water flows out in a large volume from underneath this rock which suffices for the bathing of the pilgrims assembled. At this spot there was a strange image of a cow from whose four udders water used to come out in drops. It is said that about 100 years ago this image was removed by the peasants of the neighbouring villages and buried somewhere under rocky earth nearby.

20. At Yaripura village, five miles to the north of Kulgam a thick roundish somewhat flat-surfaced boulder not exceeding one maund in weight is lifted up by 11 Mohammedan priests standing in a circle round it, each holding it upon his right hand index finger while uttering the number 11.

21. At the village of Tulmula in the Lar Pargana fish are caught from under the dry earth throughout the year. This village is situated on a riparian marshy land, having an inlet from the Sindh river. Fish reach there in flood water and burrow holes for themselves underneath the village surface. When the water recedes they get stranded in their burrows. They are afterwards caught as under: A long pole with a hook fastened to its end is pricked into the soft earth to the depth of

five or six yards and when pulled out five or six fish are found entangled in the hook. These are found in a languid condition, but, when put in water, they resume respiration and move about.

22. There is a big yew at the village Halthal in the Yachh Pargana under whose shade a large crowd of people can sit down. Notwithstanding its large size, even if a little branch of it is shaken, the whole tree, from its top down to its trunk, begins to shake. A Persian poet has written thus in regard to this tree:—

Ba niazeki badastash nabud nim darm
Tanash az faqa abarlz chu darkhat halthal

CHAPTER XIX

MONUMENTS OF KASHMIR

It is after the rise of Buddhism that Hindus began to build temples. The Kashmir classical style is fundamentally different from any other style of Hindu architecture. Writes Sir A. Cunningham, "The architectural remains of Kashmir are perhaps the most remarkable of the existing monuments of India, as they exhibit undoubted traces of the influence of Gresian art. The Hindu temple is generally a sort of architectural pasty, a huge collection of ornamental fritters huddled together, either with or without keeping, while the Jain temples, usually a vast forest of pillars, made to look as unlike one another as possible by some paltry differences in their petty details. On the other hand, the Kashmirian fanes are distinguished by the graceful elegance of their outlines, by the massive boldness of their parts, and by the happy propriety of their decorations.

"They cannot indeed vie with the severe simplicity of the Parthenon nor with the luxuriant gracefulness of the monument of

Lusicrates, but they possess great beauty, different indeed yet quite their own.

"The Kashmirian architecture is characterrised by its lofty pyramidal roofs, its trefoiled door-ways, covered by pyramidal pediments, and the great width of its intercolumniations suited equally well to rainy and snowy climates. There is no doubt that the Kashmirian style was well known to the Greeks. A Kashmirian pillar has a base, a shaft and a capital. The local architecture has also a stereotyped style. The trefoil arch of Kashmir is very original and interesting as may be seen from the remains of some old monuments."

Go wherever you may, you must meet with some old wonder. One wonders when he beholds an ancient monument whose huge and massive constructions built in days of yore stand to this day as witnesses of a race of giants, unequalled in the histories of chivalry, who once occupied this beautiful land. The reason is plain. The old architects built their temples solid. Their object was to construct imperishable abodes for their Gods to dwell in. They chose high ground as much as possible so as to avoid big floods. It must be remembered that in those days the river valleys were much more full of water than they are now and the forests also were very dense. Those ancestors have bequeathed a rich civilisation second only to the ancient Romans. A few such historical places are mentioned below with a short account that could be available.

Shankaracharya Temple.

"The mountainous portal that opens,
Sublime from the Valley of bliss to the world"

The temple on the top of Shankaracharya Hill once called Gopadri is supposed to have been built by Sandiman 2629-2564 B.C. and later on repaired by Gopaditya 426-365 B.C. and Lalitaditya 699-736 A.D. According to another authority Jaloka built it in about 220 B.C. Some assign to it the date 300 B.C. but this is generally considered inaccurate. Others mention the year 300 A.D. as the probable date of its construction. Tradition says that the Lingam was placed inside the temple by a goldsmith named Raja Hishti in the year 54 of the Hindu Era.

An inscription quotes the name of Khwaja Rokm, son of Mirjan, in connection with its origin. Sikandar, The Iconoclast, did not raze it to the ground because he thought (erroneously) that Mahmood Ghazni might have read prayers in it. The temple commands a fine view of the city that lies prostrate at its foot. Even in such a land of precious stones of architecture the Shankaracharya remains a gem of the first water.

The Pari Mahal (Kash-i-Mah)

This is the 'fairy palace'. Tradition has it that Prince Dara Shikoh designed it for his

tutor Mulla Shah and named it after his wife Pari Begum. Another authority says that it was once used for astronomical observations by the Moghul kings. It stands on an isolated crag and with almost perpendicular sides towards the top. The Pari Mahal has stood for centuries, weather-worn, sad, alone and untenanted which proves that the Paris (fairies) have it in their possession but where are they?

Look on its broken arch! Its ruined wall!
Its chambers desolate and portals foul:
Yes this was once Ambition's airy Hall
The Dome of thought, the Palace of the Soul.
—Lord Byron.

The massive building has a domed ceiling. The garden attached to it has 6 terraces. The retaining wall is ornamented with a series of arches.

The Temple of Payech.

The sloping knoll on which it stands, the cool shade of a clump of walnut trees close by, the glimpses of a village seen through the trees behind and cheerful brook running at the foot of the slope, from a charming setting to a building which would be dwarfed by a scenery of a grander scale. The temple built of ten stones only, now in ruins, seems to be of long standing. Archaeologists do not definitely estimate its exact date. And who built it that also is not exactly known?

The Temple of Panderthan.

This temple has one of the largest moats. Cunningham says that it was probably built in 921 A.D. by Meru during the reign of King Partha. Round it once spread the old capital of Kashmir when none but the Aryans lived here. It was also once Asoka's Srinagar. The domed roof of the temple is a fine piece of sculpture. There are series of arches in the retaining wall.

Avantipura.

The Archaeologists are of opinion that the temples 174′×148′ here were built in the 9th century by King Avantivarma who had his capital 18 miles away from present Srinagar. The balconies, alternate angular and rounded flutting, set off the natural contrasts of massive stones of which they are built. Nothing sadder or more beautiful exists in India than this deserted city, the silent witness of a vanished dream. It still stands with its long circuit, its bastioned gates, its wonderful palaces, peerless in the whole Hindustan for its noble design and delicate adornment. Its carvings stand as they stood in Avantivarma's time but now a body without a soul. Ruinate it has remained ever since, desolate and abandoned. No later ruler of Kashmir has ever aspired to dwell in Avantivarma's Versailles. The two temples known as Avanti Swamin and Avanti Sura were dedicated to Vishnu and Shiva.

Sumbal.

About one mile from the bridge over the Jhelum on the left bank is Andarkoth, the former capital of Jayapida, the grandson of Lalitaditya. Kuta Rani, the last Hindu Queen of Kashmir, is said to have committed suicide here (1339 A.D.)

The Temple of Martand.

The date of this temple is favoured to be the 8th Century by some Archaeologists. Cunningham places its date between 370-500 A.D. But Ferguson does not admit its foundation before the 8th Century. Roughly speaking it is between 2,000 and 1,500 years old. The temple of Martand appears to be the ruins of a grand old temple 63 feet long enclosed in a quadrangle of columns and arches forming cloisters all round it. It is about 200 feet long and 142 feet broad. There are about 84 carved pillars many of which lie prostrate on the ground. Martand with its beauty in desolation has stirred the Poet's vision of a Heber and compelled the homage of the wisest critic of Indian art. It is a dream in stones designed by Titans and finished by Jewellers. It only needed a glass case. Its architecture is fairer than the site of the Parthenon, or of the Taj, or of St. Peter, or of the Escurial. This temple with a mighty tradition behind it is now the lonely watcher on the mountain side. It alone had the strength to stand a huge blazing fire

that could burn cities. The temple exists still but its designer and destroyer are no more. Certainly it is not less imposing than Persepolis.

Patan.

There are ruins of two very fine temples attributed to King Shankarvarman 883-902 A.D. and his queen Sugandha who flourished in the 9th century.

Ruins at Wangat.

"*These are of steep wilderness whose airy sides*
With thickets overgrown, grotesque and wild,
Access denied, and overhead up grew,
Inseparable height of loftiest shade, cedar, and
pine and fir."

Distance lends enchantment to this place—an enchantment which baffles the novelist. Nothing precisely can be said as to the date of its origin or its founder.

Bijbihara.

A high and isolated kareva lies at a couple of miles from Bijbihara. Here is visible the site of one of the oldest and most famous temples of Kashmir which was occupied by crowds of refugees and soldiers during the civil wars of king Sussala's time. The wooden ramparts were set on fire by the besiegers from which ensued a terrible holocaust. This sacred place gets its name from the temple of Shivavijayesh-

wara. A bridge over the Jhelum was in existence here in the 12th century.

A fine grove of chinar trees, the remains of a garden planted by the unfortunate prince Darashikoh, is still visible on each bank of the river.

Shah-e-Hamdan

Kutub-ud-Din demolished the temple of Kaleshwari and built the present Shah-e-Hamdan mosque (after Syed Ali Hamadani who came from Hamdan in Persia towards the end of the fourteenth century and converted a large section of the people to Islam) with its material. Hasan Shah and Barkat Ali rebuilt the mosque in 1479 A.D. and 1731 A.D. respectively. A spring dedicated to Kali is still believed to exist inside the mosque. The reputed walking stick of Christ kept in this mosque is exhibited on rear occasions. The hall is 63′ x 43′. Shah Hamdan's death is given as 786 Hijri, corresponding to 1384 A.D.

Pathar Masjid

Nur Jahan built this mosque for offering prayers in it. The Sunnis had abandoned it since because she belonged to Shia sect. It remained under the State control and was restored back to the Muslims in 1931.

Jama Masjid

Sikandar 1390-1415 A.D. demolished the temple built by Taradeva 693-697 A.D. and out

of its material he constructed a huge mosque now known as Jama Masjid. It was first built in 1404 A.D. and afterwards rebuilt in the year 1479, 1619, 1674, 1841 and 1912 A.D.

Hazrat Bal

The Zairat at Hazratbal on the Dal Lake is visited by thousands of Muslims every Friday. It is here that the famous feast of roses is celebrated every spring.

Badshah Dome

Inside the dome there is a grave sheltering of the mother of Zain-ul-Abdin(1421-1472 A.D.). The plinth of the dome is the plinth of an old temple.

Harwan

A temple and some tablets have been unearthed during recent excavations at Harwan which look like the oldest mountain monuments as belonging to the Kushan period when Kashmir was closely connected with Central Asia. Nagarjuna, the philosopher, held Buddhist congregations here.

Tapar

Archaeological finds were discovered at Tapar in 1942 revealing a temple 62′ x 10′ built by Pratapaditya of the Karkuta dynasty. Certain inscriptions lead to the finding that repairs were made by a Brahmin named Gogga whose father

Jagaraja lived in the reign of Pamanda, Jayasinha's son (1157 A.D.).

Narasimha Temple at Devasar

This temple has a basement 30' square and nearly 3' high. The portico is 15' x 11'. It looks having been built in the 12th century.

Kshema Gaurishwara

Kshema Gupta 950-958 A.D. is stated to have built this temple.

Didha Matha

It is now the tomb of Malik Sahib. The queen of Kshema Gupta built a temple here.

Narpirrastan.

The edifice at Narpirastan is attributed to Lahna Narendraditya 178-191 A.D.

Mahashri.

It is now a graveyard. Pravarsena II is supposed to have built a temple here.

Skandabhawan.

It was probably built by Skanda Gupta, Minister of Yudhishtra II, 139—178 A.D.

Lokhrigar.

The shrine at Lokhrigar is attributed to Pravarsena II.

Sadahawashri.

It is now the Ziarat of Pir Haji Mohammad. Praversen II is supposed to have built a temple here.

Raneshwara.

Raneshwara now the Ziarat of Madin Sahib is ascribed to Ranaditya 414-474 A.D.

Amritabhavana.

The shrine is attributed to Amritaprabha, Queen of Maghvahana 22 B.C.

Vikrameshwara.

This holy place is attributed to Vikarama-ditya 521-653 A.D.

Bandi

The temple at Bandi belongs either to the Hindus or to the Buddhists. It was built in about 700 A.D.

Bhunyar.

The temple at Bhunyar dedicated to the goddess Bhawani was built probably in the fifth century.

Fatehgarh.

The temple at Fatehgarh is of long standing. Maharaja Ranjit Singh built his Fort here.

Temples at Shri Narayantha, built by Narendraprabha, queen of Pratapaditya II (634-684 A.D.)., Tribhavana Swami built by Chandrapida(684-693 A.D.),Vikrameshwara near Vicharnag built by Vikramaditya (521-563 A.D.), Raneshwara built by the queen of Ranaditya (414-74 A.D.), Vishnu Ranaswamin built by the queen of Ranaditya, Sabhava Shri built by Pravarsena II, Pravarisha built by Pravarsena II, Khrew (Pampur) built by Padma, Ladhnu, Kuil, Payar built by Narendraditya (483-490 A.D.), Narasthau, Lokbhavan built by Lalitaditya (699-736 A.D.), Bumzu, Mamal Sangam near Amburhar built by queen Suryamati (1028-86 A.D.), Thiun Rarannag built by Jaluka (1394-34 B.C.) and Narendraditya (308-273 B.C.) and Lalitaditya, Andarkot built by Jayapida (753-84 A.D.) Manasbal and mosques or ziarats (1) Ali Masjid built by Ali Shah, brother of Zain-ul-Abdin in 1397 A.D. (2) Akhun Mullah Shah (3) Hassanabad built by Shias in the time of Akbar (4) Pantachhum built by Hubb Khatun, wife of Yusuf Chak (1578-84 A.D.) deserve only a brief notice.

CHAPTER XX

KASHMIR IN THE EYES OF FOREIGNERS

"You have no doubt discovered before this time that I am charmed with Kachmire. In truth, the kingdom surpasses in beauty all that my warm imagination had anticipated. It is probably unequalled by any country of the same extent, and should be, as in former ages, the seat of sovereign authority, extending its dominion over all the circumjacent mountains, even as far as Tartary and over the whole of Hindustan, to the island of Ceylon. It is not indeed without reason that the Mogols call Kachmire the terrestrial paradise of the Indies, or that Ekbar was so unremitting in his efforts to wrest the sceptre from the hands of its native Princes."—Bernier.

"Abdulla Khan invaded and occupied Kashmir in 1747 A.D. He introduced a queer and irksome administration. There arose a great hue and cry among the people against his illegal exactions, his high-handed measures and the deceit and pillage which were practised under his rule. Treasure and secreted wealth of gold and silver, stores of carpets and silver and golden articles, which the Mughals had maintained in the country, were taken possession by him for his personal use. He exacted heavy fines and

indemnities from the big merchants and respectable gentry of the country. Once some of his minions branded a leading person of the country with red-hot irons. Unable to bear the torture, this man succumbed to his injuries. Abdulla Khan richly rewarded the perpetrators of this cruelty. Quazi Khan, another respectable citizen, was forced to pay a fine of one lakh of rupees and yet his son was subjected to inhuman harassment. Unable to stand this brutality, the young man sought escape in suicide and, jumping from the Zainakadal bridge, drowned himself in the river Jhelum.

"After Amir Khan, Haji Karimdad Khan Bamzai came as the head of the Government of Kashmir in 1776. He appointed Mir Fazil Kant in charge of revenue and administrative work. After a few months he accused Kant of neglecting the collection of revenue and ordered his execution. Along with this all the members of the Kant tribe were destroyed. Karimdad Khan also got displeased with Tarkuli Khan and got him executed too. A rope was tied to his feet and he was kept suspended by the feet under the Haba Kadal Bridge, till he died.

"Throughout the reign of Karimdad Khan the entire country remained plunged in absolute misery and fear. During this period everybody, high or low, rich or poor, was fleeced of all he possessed. He ruined the chastity of a thousand girls of both Hindu and Muslim communities

and thus ruined their lives for ever. He exacted such heavy taxes and duties from Mansabdars and Jagirdars, as exceeded by far the value of their possessions. All these people were reduced to utter penury. Many of them chose to dispose of their possessions and migrate from the country. He appointed the most heartless people to collect taxes from the people. Heavy fruit tax was imposed on Zamindars. Since they could not meet this heavy demand, they cut down their fruit trees and sold the wood to meet the demand of the Government. In this way all the beautiful gardens in the city and rural areas, and particularly those which had been planted by the Mughals around the Dal lake, were denuded of all fruit trees. The lambardars and nobility were reduced to dust by the heavy exactions made from them by the Subedar. It is said that one of the tax-collectors, named Aslam Harkara, was blind in both eyes, and so he used to go in a Palki from place to place, to collec ttaxes. He treated the people most cruelly. People were reduced to such destitution that, robbed of their hearths and homes, they had to lie on the bare ground under the open sky"—Hassan.

"At this time no less than 2,000,000 Rupees are extraced by the Afghan Governor, who, if his tribute be not regularly remitted to Court, is allowed to execute with impunity every act of violence. This extreme rigour has sensibly affected the department and manners of the

Kashmirians, who shrink with dread from the Afghan oppression and are fearful of making any display of opulence......During my stay in Kashmir I often witnessed the harsh treatment which the common people received at the hands of their masters, who rarely issued an order without a blow of the side of their hatchet, common weapon of the Afghans, and used by them in war as a battle-axe."—Forster (1783)

"As we advanced, Surat Singh was assailed by many clamorous appeals from the crowd, and hands were stretched out, and cries addressed to us, praying for our interference to save the inhabitants from starvation. An order, it appeared, had recently emanated from Raja Ranjit Singh prohibiting the sale of any of this year's crop of rice, until a deficit of 5 lakhs (5000,000 rupees) in the revenue of the preceding year had been discharged." Moorcroft.

Elsewhere Moorcroft writes :—

"Everywhere the people are in the most abject condition, exorbitantly taxed by the Sikh Government, and subjected to every kind of extortion and oppression by its officers. The consequences of this system are the gradual depopulation of the country; not more than one-sixteenth of the cultivable soil is in cultivation, and the inhabitants, starving at home, are driven in great numbers to the plains of Hindustan. In like manner the people of this city are rapidly thinking, though less from emigration than poverty and

disease; the prevalence of the latter in its most aggrevated form being fearfully extensive."

"I will give a singular instance of the effect of Sikh oppression. A model in deodar of a Kashmirian mosque was being made under my own superintendence, and which I contrived to bring safely to England. It was with the greatest difficulty that I could persuade the man who was making it to come to me; and when he did come, he would make the most unaccountable mistakes in the simplest matters; such, for instance, as not cutting the pillars of equal length. The Sikh Sepahi whom I sent to fetch him, would make him give him a few halfpence, for the honour of being called by him—would beat him if he did not come immediately, and beat him afterwards if he complained to me: and the reasons why he would not come, were, first because he knew that what I paid him or at least a great part of it, would probably be taken from him, and what was worse, that having proved himself clever enough to satisfy an Englishman that he was an adept in his profession, he would ever afterwards be made to work by the governor for little or perhaps no pay at all."—Vigne(1842).

"I continued to pursue my way on foot and alone, my people having stayed to rest a little. I met a Kashmirian, driving a fellow-countryman before him. The poor fellow stopped every now and then; and, in a pitiful tone, besought the other's compassion, but his entreaties were only answered by blows. I inquired what was the

cause of the quarrel, but could not make out what they said; however, when Mirza Ahud joined me, I learnt that the suppliant was a thief; the other, the owner of the stolen goods, who had just apprehended him. The truth being made known, the delinquent waited very humbly to hear what punishment I should decree. Meanwhile, some Sikh soldiers overtook us; the effect was instantaneous; the aggrieved party now stoutly maintained that he had nothing to complain of, the thief put his arm within that of his accuser, and in the amicable manner they hastily walked away together. Mirza Ahud explained to me that a Kashmirian would put up with any wrong rather than seek redress from his Sikh master, as he is invariably obliged to pay the judge a high price for his decision, without the slightest prospect of recovering his lost property."

—Charles Hugel (1845).

"Under the present system, when the grain has been trodden out, a division takes place between the farmer and the Government, formerly this was an equal one, but the Government had advanced in its demands till it now requires seven-eighths of the produce of the land near the city, and three-fourths of the more remote crops. The straw belongs to the cultivator, and he continues to bribe the watchman or overseer to let him steal his own produce. He is allowed to keep cattle on the mountains during the summer, may cut wood, and bring it into the city for sale, and may also sell wildgreens, butter and milk. It would appear from the above that the farmer is

not too well off; but the case is aggravated by the method employed in disposing of the Governmental share. This is sent into the market, a high price put upon it, no one is permitted to offer his produce at a lower rate, or sometimes even to dispose of it at all, until all the public corn is sold."—Mrs. Murray Aynsley (1878).

"I will illustrate the manner in which the people are ground down in Kashmir by the heads of villages or others invested with a little authority, and relate here an anecdote told us by a friend who was in that country a year or two before our visit. He wished to give new pugrees (or turbans) of a particular colour to the boat people who were regularly in his employ, in order that he might recognise them at a distance. But these men all prayed him not to insist upon this, but if he was satisfied with it, to give them a little money instead as after he had left, the official seeing them with any good new clothes would say 'Oh, the Sahib has been very good to them, and no doubt has given them lots of presents, insist on obtaining from them all they could of their hard-earned summer wages on the strength of this, and thus squeeze them more than they otherwise would have done."—*Ibid.*

"The power enjoyed by the officials under the system of mujawaza, in virtue of which they could deprive a village of its year's food stocks,

was great, but not so great as the power yielded by them in the levy of Begar, or forced labour. A man could sometimes hide his grain in secret pits (zusu) and could save enough food to keep him and his children alive till the fruits and vegetables came, but it was more difficult to hide himself when the officials were on the lookout for human carriage and the Kashmir press-gang would watch and wait if a reluctant villager fled to the mountains. Begar means to the Kashmiri far more than the mere impressment of labour; for under its comprehensive name every kind of demand for labour or property taken but not paid for by the officials was included."

—*Sir Walter Lawrence* (1887).

"Gilgit to the Kashmiri is a constant terror, and when it was rumoured that transport was wanted to convey the baggage of the troops going to or coming from Gilgit, there was a general stampede among the villagers. I have seen whole villagers bivouacking on the mountains when the agents for the collection of transport arrived in their tehsil, and I have seen inhuman punishment dealt out to men who demurred to leaving their homes for two or three months with the prospect of death from cold or starvation. I have seen villagers maimed from frostbite or shrivelled and paralysed from exposure to cold, and it is no marvel that the Kashmiris should loathe the very name of Gilgit."—*Ibid.*

"In May, 1888, I was on Cholera duty at Islamabad. Just as the epidemic was reaching its height, and hundreds were dying every day in all the districts around a levy of 5,000 or more coolies was called for. The villagers were almost distracted with fear. Who would do all their agricultural work ? What would happen during their long absence to their wives and children ? To what perils of pestilence and inclemency of weather would they be exposed, in the crowded bivouacs and snowy passes of that dreaded Gilgit district ? I was present at a sort of farewell service on a maidan outside Islamabad, when nearly 1,000 men were starting, and when they took leave of the friends who had accompanied them so far, loud was the sobbing of some, fervid the demeanour of all, as, led by the Mullah, they intoned their prayers and chanted some of their special penitential psalms. Braver men might well have been agitated at such a time. It is certain that cholera clung to the camp, and that the unburied corpses of hundreds of these poor begaris marked the whole line of march from Srinagar to Bunji."—*Dr. A Neve.*

"One can tell that this is a sad people, who have borne centuries with grief : who have learned to bend their heads to the storm, and have grown twisted and crooked in the process; yet in whose hearts there survives a perception of the purposes of God, and an increasing desire to rise once more into the sunlight of noble men . . . .

"Alas if the record of Kashmir be read aright, it is a moving tale, of human sins; and there are not many races in the world upon whom the hand of fate has been laid so heavily as upon those who inhabit this, perhaps the fairest corner of the earth.

"Kashmir in truth has paid the price of beauty, that 'fatal gift' of which the poets have sung from early time; and she has paid it a hundred fold. Those who have lived here have fallen under her caprices as men fell of old under the wiles of Circe: and those without born under a ruder heaven, have coveted her joys with a fierce desire, and have seized upon her treasuries with unstinted hand. It is under the stress of such events that the character of her people has been evolved; and it is a character that is not noble or beautiful, though deserving of sympathy and help from those who have had a happier destiny. There have been times when the life of a man in this land has little more value than the life of a god......Neither their lives nor their property, nor their honour, has been left to this unfortunate people in the past.

"It is only of late, within the present generation and within the past few years, that the clouds have lifted and they have begun to raise their heads from the duty of centuries of oppression; and though they know that this change has really come and is like to stay, they cannot yet in their hearts believe in its duration. Children of light and of a land beautiful beyond the dreams

of ordinary men, a profound sadness is visible in their eyes, and in the workings of their spirit; and a great feat still lingers in the hearts. This fear is extraordinary in its manifestations; it assails men of gigantic frame and energy, and I have myself wondered to see such an one tremble all over his body (as a thoroughbred hunter may be seen quivering by the covert-side when hounds are at work on a winter's morning; but with how different an emotion;) at the sound of an angry voice. Such a fear and such memories of necessity provoke qualities of character and temperament upon which those, whose past has been happier, are prone to look down in anger and a measureless contempt; but even in these respects a marked difference is visible even to a careless eye, between the people of the fields and hamlets, and those of the city; and between the former in their intercourse with each other, and with those who are of the State, or who come with an air of power and authority into their midst."

—*Scott O'Connor*.

"Jammu and Kashmir State is labouring under many disadvantages, with a large Mohammedan population absolutely illiterate, labouring under poverty and very low economic conditions of living in the villages and practically governed like dumb driven cattle. There is no touch between the Government and the people, no suitable opportunity

for representing grievances, and the administrative machinery itself requires over hauling from top to bottom to bring it up to the modern conditions of efficiency. It has at present little or no sympathy with the people's wants and grievances."—*Sir Albion Bannerjee.*

"The peasants are sunk in unimaginable poverty. Their mud huts contain hardly a trace of visible property, save a few pots and water jars. When I put my questions in a typical village, every household was in debt, and the usual rate of interest was 48%. If a peasant owns his holdings, it is rarely big enough to feed his family throughout the year, and he makes up the deficiency by trekking as a seasonal labourer across the mountains to the Punjab. He has no land, he works as a share-cropper and pays the owner by way of rent, one half of all his produce ......His wooden plough dates from the dark ages and his cattle, if he has any, are of such miserable breeds that they are hardly worth the trouble of milking. Worse than this, much of the land is held under feudal tenure by great landlords, known as Jagirdars, who draw their tribute from the cultivators, as a reward for some service rendered to the Maharaja or his ancestors. Most of them are absentees and the worst of them are above the law. The peasants taxed to the limit of their endurance and subject to an administration that is corrupt from top to bottom, are voteless, unorganised and helpless in their ignorance. In the village where I made my enquiries, not a single child went to

school. Their undernourishment was obvious at a glance, and the women complained of the total lack of medical care."— *H.M. Brailsford.*

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"From across of boats on the lake, voices were shouting in chorus in their own language 'quit Kashmir'. From crowded roads in shore, other voices echoed the slogan. It was addressed to the Maharaja one of the biggest of the Indian States. His subjects were dispersing after one of the most memorable meetings ever held in Kashmir. The scene of it was the courtyard of an ancient mosque, some miles from Srinagar, which is a famous shrine because it cherishes a hair of the prophet's beard.

"Sheikh Abdullah based his case on one of the most iniquitous records of the East India Company. A hundred years ago, it sold Kashmir and its people to the ruler of the neighbouring State of Jammu. This transaction is recorded in the Treaty of Amritsar, which required from Maharaja Gulab Singh a payment in cash equivalent to about £400,000 and a token tribute annually of 'one horse, twelve goats (six male and six female) and three pairs of Kashmiri shawls.' In return for this sum, he and his heirs have ruled as autocrats down to the present day.

"Here was a tempting theme which only a tame speaker could have spoiled, and Sheikh Abdullah is a brilliant and magnetic orator. He

drew the logical conclusion and called for the cancellation of the Treaty. The real significance of his speech lay in its revolutionary implications, its denial of the Maharaja's right to rule. It was a demand for a clean break with the past. Like every Indian democrat, Sheikh Abdullah is bent on securing responsible government and adult suffrage, but he meant more than this when he challenged the dynasty. His real aim is to sweep away the feudal system which has made of this lovely valley one of the most backward and benighted regions of India."—*Ibid.*

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"As a climax to the Kashmir revolt, Sheikh Abdullah has been brought to trial here accused of sedition because he demanded that Maharaja Sir Hari Singh should quit.

"A plane is always available should Kashmir's ruler be compelled to quit—and he is only one of a number of princes who have planes ready to take to the air if the political atmosphere on the ground becomes too hot.

"With more wealth outside Kashmir than in it and tidy fortunes tucked away in London and elsewhere, even if driven to quit, the Maharaja and his successors need not be haunted by the fear of destitution or even the necessity to work. Over the entrances of Jhelum power works the Maharaja has an inscription reading,: 'There is dignity in labour and work is worship'. In that sense the ruler cannot be said to be over keen on worship.

"Largely because the labour of so many of his subjects lacks the dignity of a just reward, revolt is simmering in Kashmir. In all probability an All-India decision on States rule, on the principle of responsible government under constitutional monarchies will be reached, but the princes will be expected to devote their energies to their constitutional duties.

"What is decided for all States we shall have no option but to put into operation here, Kashmir's Prime Minister Rai Bahadur Ramchandra Kak, told me.

"Sheikh Abdullah, a 6 ft. 4 in. personality, once a teacher and now Nehru's vice-president of the All-India States Peoples' Conference and leader of the National Movement in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, leapt impatiently ahead of National policy and demanded 'quit Kashmir'. He was arrested on the way to Delhi to see Nehru before his policy had been endorsed or any plan to enforce it had been organised.

"Kashmir is advanced in some respects and backward in others. The literacy rate is only seven per cent.

"He outlined a five-year plan on co-operative principles, but the co-operation expected of the community in the irrigation scheme was the provision of unskilled labour free.

"Kashmir is rich not only in unmatchable

natural resources—timber, water, power, silk, wool, fruit, fish, cattle, a productive soil in the valleys and mineral and chemical deposits in the hills, but also in the inborn artistic genius and skill of craftsmanship of its people. Nowhere in the world is more exquisite woodwork, embroidery, papiermachie, brass and copper work produced, the whole process of design, execution and sale being the work of the same man.

"With sources such as these Kashmir should be one of the most prosperous and contented provinces in the world and its craftsmen the most highly paid. Yet nowhere in this land of abject destitution side by side with excessive riches is contrast more shocking than here-Norman Cliff."

CHAPTER XXI

LIST OF ANCIENT CLASSICS

Name	*Remarks*
Kashayapa:	Drained out water from the Satisar and brought Brahmins to live in the reclaimed land—Kashyapmar or Kashmir.
Patanjali	Author of Grammar and of the books of medicine and yoga philosophy. His house was at a village called Gonard or Gudar in the Kulgam Tehsil.
Mammatacharya:	Poet and Rhetorician.
Kayyatacharya	Author of Sanskirt Grammar. Lived at Raj Chhaj Kot, a village above Avantipura.
Unmatacharya	Author of commentary on Vedas.
Vamana	Author of Grammar.
Rudrata	Poet.
Vagabhatta:	Poet and author of book on medicine.

Charaka:	Author of books on medicine.
Bamala:	Poet.
Vashu Gupta	Lived about the end of 8th Century of the Christian era. He was the founder of Shaiva philosophy, having learnt it from Shiva himself in a dream.
Shiva Swamin:	Author of books on Shaiva philosophy. Lived in 815-900 A.D.
Bhaskara	Pupil of Sri Kantha Bhatta. Lived probably in 11th Century of Christian era.
Jagoddhara Bhatta:	Poet and author of Grammar.
Ratnakara:	Poet.
Ananda Vardhan	Poet.
Chhachhak Bhatta:	Author of Grammar.
Rochat or Ruyyak:	Poet.
Udbhatta:	Poet.
Kshemendra:	Wrote the Rajtarangini in 1148-49 A.D.
Kalhana:	Historian.
Jona Raja:	Lived in the time of Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-70 A.D.). Wrote the Rajtarangini from the time Kalhana had left it down to his own time.

Shrinara: Pupil of Jona Raja. Continued the Rajtaringini from 1459-1486 A.D.

Prajya Bhatta: Continued the Rajtaringini down to the time of annexation of Kashmir by Akbar, 1586 A.D.

Jayaratha: Author of books on Shaiva Philosophy. Lived about 12th Century of Christian era.

Shivopadhya: Author of books on Shaiva philosophy. His home was at Habbakadal, Srinagar. Lived about 1571 A.D.

Sharvavarma: Author of Grammar.

Damodar Gupta: Poet.

Ratnakantha: Poet and author of books on Shaiva philosophy.

Manka: Author of Dictionary.

Balabhatta: Author of books on Shaiva philosophy.

Somadeva: Author of Brahsthatha which is in the possession of some Brahmins at Bhori Kadal who practise fortune-telling by looking into it.

Abhinanda: Poet of the highest order equal to Kalidasa.

Vallabhadeva: Poet.

Narahari: Poet and commentator.

Kumorajina: (Tungsheo—Chinese title) 384-417 A.D. writer.

Bilhava: Poet.

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Chak Period: Mulla Hassan Qazi.
Moghul Period: Ain-i-Akbari (Farishta, Abul Fazal, Bernier).

Afghan Period: Shahnama Kashmir by Taufiq.

Sikh Period: Zafarnama Ranjit Singh by Akhbari, Tarikh Kashmir by Birbal Kachroo. (Vigne, Hugel, Harringhmger, Focquement).

Dogra Period: Gulzar-i- Kashmir and Gulabnama by D. Kirpa Ram, Khulasatul Twarikh by Mirza Saif-ud-Din Beg, Ancient Monuments by R.C. Kak, Kashmiri Pandit by Anand Kaul.

SUPPLEMENT:

Jagadhar Bhat wrote Stuti Kusumanjali in 1350.

Siti Kantha wrote Balbadhimi in 1475.

Vallabhadara wrote Padyavali in 1550.

Sinpadhyaya wrote Vijnana Khairov in 1775.

Kh. Miram Bazaz wrote Tazkara-i-Murshadi in 1575.

Baba Dand Mushakani wrote Asrar-ul Ahrar in 1653.

Mula Zibni wrote Tazkara-i-Shuara-i-Kashmir in 1655.

Dara Shikoh translated Upanishadas into Persian

WRITERS IN PHILOSOPHY:

Baba Dud Khaki, Habib Ullah Naushahri, Mirza Akhnal-ud-Din Kamil. He wrote Bahar-ul-Urjan in four Volumes containing 80,000 verses.

MOGHUL PERIO:

Sarfi, Mulla Ashraf, Baha-ud-Din Mattoo, M. Mazhari, Tayil, Mulla Farokhi, Mohd. Tabir Gani, Mulla Mahsan Khushu, M. Bhavani Das Kachroo. He wrote Babar-i-Tavil in 1800.

Toba Ram Turki wrote in 1840.
Rajakaul Arzbegi wrote in 1887.
Raja Kak Dhar wrote in 1850.

Medicine:

Hakim Mansur, Mohd. Murad.

Religion:

Mulla Muhsin Fani

Kashmiri:

Rajanaka Shiti Kantha, Sh. Nur-ud-Din, Sona Bhat, Udh Bhat, Sahib Kaul, Parkash Bhat.

Women:

Rup Bhawani, Lal Ded, Mrs. Bhavani Das Kachroo, Habba Khatoon.

EXTRACTS FROM SPEECHES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Butler Committee:—"They had imagined a committee different alike in composition and functions from that which ultimately materialised. It was expected that round a nucleus of English statesmen of reputation, there would be grouped representatives of the Government of India, of British India and of Indian States together with financial, constitutional and political experts. Two things were uppermost in their minds; firstly they had become painfully conscious that what was called political practice whittled away rights, which they believed to have been safe-guarded by treaties; secondly, they found their position was one of considerable uncertainty, not merely in regard to their future relations with a self-governing British India, but also in regard to their present relations with the Government of India. They were anxious to find out precisely where they stood, where their rights began and those of the Paramount Power ended, so that they might take stock of the part they were called upon to play in greater India, which they saw shaping before their eyes, but the Committee from the very nature of its personnel and restricted lines of reference could not conduct an examination satisfactorily. The Committee by its own admission was not a judicial tribunal. This was conclusive evidence that the state could not receive at its hands that

kind of award which was their principal reason for asking for an enquiry at all."

HARI SINGH

Round Table Conference:—

"Allied by treaty with the British Crown and within our territories independent rulers, we have come with a full sense of responsibility to our State and all India. As the allies of British we stand solidly by the British connection. As Indians and loyal to the land of our birth, we stand as solidly as the rest of our countrymen for our land's enjoyment of a position of honour and equality in the British Commonwealth. Our desire to co-operate to the best of our ability with all sections of the Conference is genuine, as also is our determination to base our co-operation upon the realities of the present situation.

"Neither England nor India can afford to see this Conference end in failure. We must resolve to succeed. Difficulties shall not be insuperable. We must exercise patience, tact and forbearance and be inspired by mutual understanding and goodwill; and we must give and take. If we succeed, England no less than India gains. If we fail, India, no less than England loses. The task is gigantic. In case of no people would such an aim as ours be easy to accomplish. In case of India; complexity of factors is unique, but by the grace of God and with goodwill and sympathy on both sides

difficulties shall be surmounted, and with the words of the King Emperor still ringing in our ears, we, Princes, affirm, that the Conference shall not fail through any fault of ours."

—HARI SINGH

Cripps' Mission (1942).

"We have yet to know the conclusions at which His Majesty's Government has unanimously arrived under the combined stress of British India's well-known demands and the requirements of the war situation to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of all interests.

"On the part of the States, a considerable factor in the Indian policy and an important party to be satisfied, there has been a tendency, even within recent weeks, to give prominence to the credo of "Relations to the Crown." These relations have so far been maintained through and effected by a Department set up by the will of the Crown, the policy and practice of the Department being determined by the Crown's functionaries. Logically, therefore, it would seem that the Princes cannot object to having dealings with a Central Government of India which the Crown may constitute. Nor have they any reason to assume that they would not get a square deal from such a Government.

"In any case, it is the duty of the Princes to show themselves the equals of nationals anywhere in the world."

"The Princes are justified in assuming that, in a self-Governing India, every autonomous unit will share equally the fiscal and financial advantages accruing in such an India as well as the responsibilities and burdens entailed by the maintenance of peace and order and the provision of beneficent services and public utilities in the territories administered. And it should not be forgotten that these territories may have problems peculiar to their populations as well as to their physical conditions.

"In the India of to-morrow, such of the Princes' prerogatives as enable them to afford a better life to their subjects and to ameliorate their lot must remain. Other privileges, which may be merely matters of honour and glory, shedding effulgence on their personalities, are of comparatively small account when set beside other considerations such as the safeguarding of resources necessary for up-to-date government and the relief of burdens borne by the State alone. "

"In promising to support the proposals brought by Sir Stafford Cripps, the Chamber of Princes added the proviso that the support would be without prejudice to the right of individual States to lay their case before him and generally without prejudice to the inherent rights of the States. These rights it is not easy to define or catalogue when one considers the effect of the political practice inaugurated in 1860 and since maintained with aid of "usage

and sufferance." In any case, there is a piquant irony in the contrast between the Princes' reiteration of the phrase 'Treaty Rights' and the Viceroy's suggestion that all Princes, for certain purposes, should voluntarily abdicate in favour of the Political Officers accredited to their courts.

"When at the Round Table Conference, the Princes assented to the working out of a Federal Constitution, they were prepared voluntarily to delegate some of their sovereign powers to a Federal Government. In the India of the future, it is possible that the matters committed to the Central Government would be far fewer than those recited in the Table of Federal Matters appended to the Act of 1935.

"Unless, therefore, the proposals entrusted to Sir Stafford Cripps are fundamentally adverse to the interests of the Indian States—and this is unthinkable—there is no reason why there should not be ample common ground between the States and the rest of India. 'Freedom' must be our watchword—freedom from crippling restrictions and strangling control, freedom from the subordination of India's interests to the interests of other parts of the Commonwealth."

—HARI SINGH

Franchise Committee's Report:—

"The Committee after pointing out the difficulty and the diversity of population in the

State recommend the constitution of State Assembly of 75 members of which 16 will be State Councillors, 12 officials and 33 elected, 14 Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs and Buddhists will be nominated from constituencies in which election is impossible. The Assembly should be presided over by a Minister. The Committee lay down that every elector must be a State subject who had acquired immovable property in the State and has had ten years' continuous residence. The Committee do not agree that women in general should be enfranchised. Adult male suffrage being impossible primarily on administrative grounds, franchise-ten per cent of the adult male population in the cities and about 15 per cent in the country. The Assembly's term will be three years. Age prescribed for an elector is 21 years and that for a candidate 25 years."

State Council (1991) :—

"The Council of Ministers of the State shall comprise the Prime Minister for the time being and such other Ministers of the State as His Highness may appoint. The Prime Minister who shall be the President of the Council and the other Ministers shall hold office during His Highness' pleasure and the superintendence, direction and control of the Civil administration and Government be vested in the Council.

"The Legislature of the State shall consist of the Council and the Assembly and subject

to the provision of this Regulation no legislative measure shall be deemed to have passed unless it has been passed by the Council or the Assembly and has received the assent of His Highness. An Ordinance on being assented to by His Highness shall have the force of law for a period not exceeding six months from the date of promulgation."

Proclamation of Praja Sabha. :—

"We recently expressed our wish and pleasure that means be designed whereby our people may be more closely associated in our Councils; and in pursuance of Our Commands thus declared those persons appointed by Us to give practical shape to Our wishes have submitted their recommendations which have been accepted by Us.

"The assemblage here present this day is the outcome of their labours to give outward form to Our behests. It is the first of its kind in recent times; but, of old, the duties which you will have to perform, were duties which were always shouldered and loyally discharged by the Praja ever since the institution of monarchy came into being in this ancient land of India. To acquaint themselves with the needs of their people, the Kings of old have caused to be performed, and maintained, bodies from village Panchayats up to assemblies of this nature, composed of the representatives of the various interests in their kingdom. Our own record bears witness to this.

"For Our part We declare that Divine Providence having laid upon Us the sacred duty to care equally for all those committed to Our guardianship, We can recognize no difference between one person and another or between one class and another. They are all Our beloved children whatever their persuasion or creed, and We desire to protect, foster, guide and advance them by every means in Our power.

"Out of the great love and affection we bear Our beloved subjects, We have called you to do your part in the working for the well-being of this State. We have appointed your task and indicated the lines of the service you can render to yourselves and to your Ruler, whose ordained duty it is to safeguard and promote your best interests. We desire you to enter upon the discharge of your responsibilities in such a way that your behaviour may be an example to others and your achievements at once a model for them to emulate and a monument to your own earnestness and your loyalty to the State that you serve.

"No one here to-day can fail to realise that both in theory and practice, the existence of a stable society and a peaceful community, involves, presupposes a head, whose sway must be ungrudgingly accepted and whose behests must be loyally carried out, if harmony and orderly progress of the community is to be achieved. In recent times, certain nations have departed

from this, and the world has witnessed the sorry spectacle of chaos and anarchy. The fate of these nations should provide us with an object lesson. Those who have chosen precipitately to break from their ancient moorings have not yet found the haven of peace; they are still floundering in stormy waters. Peace and harmony are the essential conditions of progress and prosperity, and all can see that the world of the present day after experiencing the storm and stress of unsettlement is once again discovering the axiom that peaceful progress, even if slow, is in the long run the best, indeed the only way.

"Beware of impassioned utterances so much in vogue to-day. They invariably formulate unbalanced and unpractical ideals that are as much divorced from decisive factors and stern realities as they are foreign to the genius of Our race. Cultivate sobriety of thought and expression, shunning all that is disruptive, and devote all your energies to creative and constructive work which alone can help to ameliorate the lot, and conduce to the happiness of those whose spokesmen you have undertaken to be.

"May the Dispenser of all Bounties in His infinite mercy and wisdom bless your labours, and may those labours, conducted in perfect harmony, rebound to the credit of Our subjects whose first chosen representatives you are, and to the glory of our unique heritage and of our body politic." —HARI SINGH

Appointment of two Popular Ministers :—

"With a view to giving further effect to my policy of associating my subjects with the administration of the State, I have after careful consideration decided to call upon the Praja Sabha to nominate panel of six (three to be Muslims) of its members three from Jammu and three from Kashmir (including the Frontier Districts). Out of the panel so nominated, I shall appoint two (one of whom will be a Muslim) as my Ministers. These Ministers shall hold charge of portfolios to be determined by me and will hold office during my pleasure.

(1) Mr. M.A. Beg and
(2) Wazir Ganga Ram

will hold office during my pleasure (2-10-1944.)*"

Silver Jubilee of King Emperor

"During my absence in England to attend the Silver Jubilee of His Majesty the King Emperor, I can assure you that you were all constantly in my mind.

"Unfortunately Kashmir was visited by a serious epidemic of cholera which, however, I am good to say, through the heroic efforts of our Medical Department and willing and wise

*The farce of dyarchy was exposed on 19th March, 1946 when Mr. Beg's resignation was accepted as the wheel of constitution could not run.

co-operation of my people was brought completely under control." —HARI SINGH

Public Reception (24-10-1941) :—

"Most of my time was given in visiting the fighting men who have gone to this theatre of war from our country. I found them well and extremely cheerful, bent on their business and full of confidence as to their future. You have alluded to the part played in the war, so far by our 1st Mountain Battery under the command of that efficient and capable officer Lt. Col. Bhagwan Singh. You will be glad to know that wherever I went and whichever officers of high military rank I met, not one of them could say enough about the gallantry and professional skill of this Unit so much so that even in the sea-plane yesterday there were congratulations offered on the splendid service which our Battery has done. My general impression, however, is that India may look forward with calm assurance to a bright future of security and prosperity. I cannot forego this public opportunity of reading out the message which the officers and men of our Mountain Battery asked me to convey to their brothers-in-arms. The message is—"Brothers. You have, no doubt, heard of the services which we on behalf of our Ruler and our State were privileged to render to the Empire in more than one theatre of war. Proud as we are of this stroke of good fortune we are convinced that given a similar opportunity all of you who have received the same training

under the watchful eye of our Master will distinguish yourself even more and thus add lustre and renown to his name and that of our State. You will be glad to hear that we are all well and happy and praying that some of you at least may be able to come over and fight shoulder to shoulder with us. Till then our heartiest greetings."

—HARI SINGH

Address of Welcome (22-7-1944).

"I would not have missed the opportunity and the experience for anything. I was in London at two of the most dramatic moments of the war; namely-the entry of the Allied forces into Rome and the great Allied landing on the coast of Normandy-events which are important milestones on our march to Victory. Speaking from a purely personal point of view, when I was right up in the front line within a few hundred yards of the enemy and when I flew over the German Lines in Italy, I felt a thrill and a happiness which I had scarcely ever felt before. It did one's heart good to see when actually flying over the enemy lines that there was little activity there. In Italy, I saw all the three Indian Divisions and found them full of courage and spirits. The Indian troops are always in the forefront of the battle and are glad to be there. Whenever I saw an Indian unit moving up to the front, I watched the faces of the men. Each face was wreathed in smiles. No wonder that every commander I met had only praise and admiration for the Indian soldier. Although none of the units of the forces of this State was

at the Italian front, I noticed with interest and pride that this State was very well represented in the Units of the Indian Army that were there. What I saw and heard while in England convinced me of the high determination of every man and woman to achieve complete victory and lasting peace, no matter what the sacrifice involved might be.

"A word about my work in the War Cabinet. We, the representatives of India, attended the meetings of the War Cabinet relating to the conduct of the war on terms of absolute equality with other members. The deliberations were carried on in an atmosphere of complete frankness and our opinion was sought and given in exactly the same manner as that of other members of the War Cabinet. Similar was the case with the Dominion Premiers Conference. Though at neither of these Conferences did India come up for particular discussion, we were gratified to find considerable interest in Indian affairs and much friendly feelings towards India."

—HARI SINGH

Extract from Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's address to the Constituent Assembly set up in 1951 :—

"After centuries, we have reached the harbour of our freedom, a freedom, which, for the first time in history, will enable the people of Jammu and Kashmir, whose duly elected representatives are gathered here, to shape the future of their country after wise deliberation, and mould their future organs of Government.

"When we look back, we see how our footsteps have taken us not among the privileged, but into the homes of the poor and downtrodden. We have fought their battle against privilege and oppression and against those darker powers in the background which sought to set man against man on the ground of religion."

The *New Kashmir* says—

"We the people of Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh and the Frontier regions, including Poonch and Chenani Illaqas—commonly known as Jammu and Kashmir State—in order to perfect our union in the fullest equality and self-determination, to raise ourselves and our children for ever from the abyss of oppression and poverty, degradation and superstition, from mediaeval darkness and ignorance, into the sunlit valleys of plenty, ruled by freedom, science and honest toil, in wortny participation of the historic resurgence of the peoples of the East, and the working masses of the world, and in determination to make this our country a dazzling gem on the snowy bosom of Asia, do propose and profound the following Constitution of our State".

French Constitution of 1791, Article 3 says—The source of all sovereignty resides fundamentally in the Nation....Sovereignty is one and indivisible, inalienable and imprescriptable. It belongs to the nation."

"New Kashmir contains a statement of the objectives of our social policy. It gives broadly

a picture of the kind of life that we hope to make possible for the people of Jammu and Kashmir and the manner in which the economic organization of the country will be geared to that purpose.

"The present House of the Rulers of our State based its claim to authority on the Treaty Rights granted to it by the British Government in 1846. To throw light on the nature of these rights, it will be helpful to recall that the British power, in its drive for territorial expansion, achieved its objectives through a network of alliances with the Indian Princes, subsidiary and subordinate, offensive and defensive. This mutually helpful arrangement enabled the British to consolidate their power, and strengthened the grip of the Princes, giving them military help in the event of rebellion by their exploited subjects. The Butler Committee Report on Treaty Rights in 1929 bears ample testimony to this. It says :—

"The duty of the Paramount Power to protect the States against rebellion and insurrection is derived from the clauses of treaties and sanads, from usage and from the promise of the King Emperor to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights and dignities of the Princes ....The promise of the King Emperor to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights and dignities of the Princes carried with it a duty to protect the Prince against attempts to eliminate him and substitute another form of Government."

"In recognition of their services to the British Crown, the Indian Princes earned the rewards of a limited sovereignty over their States under the protection and suzerainty of the Paramount Power. It was in this way that their rights, privileges and prerogatives were preserved.

"Thus the pioneers of British Imperialism subjugated India, aided by the Indian Princes. This was hardly diplomacy; it amounted to fraud and deceit. Mutual agreements arrived at for such ignoble purposes were invested with the sanctity of treaties. And it is from such "treaties" that the Princes claimed their right to rule. Our own State provides a classic example of this. One glance at a page of our history will lay bare the truth.

"The State of Jammu and Kashmir came to be transferred to Maharaja Gulab Singh in 1846, after the Sikh Empire began to disintegrate. His failure to render competent assistance to the Sikh armies was duly noticed by the British as also his willingness to acknowledge their authority. This paved the way for the total occupation of Northern India by the British who were not slow in recognising Maharaja Gulab Singh's services to them. In reward they sold him the territory of Jammu and Kashmir for 75 lakhs of rupees, and, in the Treaty of Amritsar, the British Government made over the entire country in independent possession to Maharaja Gulab Singh and the heirs male of his body. "In this way, the entire population of Jammu and

Kashmir State came under his absolute authority. The peculiar indignity of the transaction naturally offended the national self-respect of our people who resisted the occupation of their country. But the direct intervention of the British troops helped the Maharaja to take possession of the territory.

This event in the history of the State had catastrophic consequences for the people. The old feudal order, which was bad enough, gave way to more exacting rule, in which the Maharaja assumed all proprietary rights over land. The entire State was plunged into a chaotic economic condition, aggravated by a heavy scale of taxation, tributes and levies which were required to make up for the money given by the Maharaja to the British. This unrelieved despotism reduced the bulk of the people to the level of serfs. There was general impoverishment. In 1848, some 4,000 artisans started on a trek to Lahore with the object of permanently settling there. Even the British counselled the Maharaja to loosen his grip so as to avoid a total collapse of his administration. Perhaps the forefathers of the great poet-philosopher son of Kashmir, Iqbal, were also part of the same trail of migrants who left the State at this time. When his agony over the fate of the people of his homeland burst out in immortal verse, his feelings are echoed in the heart of every Kashmiri :

"O Wind, if you pass through Geneva, give this message to the comity of the people of

the world. They sold the peasant, his field, his property and the roof over his head, in fact, they sold the entire nation and for what a paltry price ! "

'Invested with this absolute authority, acquired in 1846, the present ruling dynasty was in power for one hundred years. This sad and stern century of servitude has stultified the growth of our people leaving them in the back-waters of civilisation. While in British India, and even in some of the Indian States, many a measure of reform was introduced to alleviate the misery of the people, in this State the unenlightened absolutism of the Rulers drove them deeper into poverty and degradation. When conditions became increasingly intolerable, they made determined efforts to wrest power from the hands of the Ruler.

By 1947, India had achieved independence and reached one of her historical watersheds. It was clear that with the withdrawal of the Paramount Power, the treaty rights of the Indian Princes would cease. Sovereignty in that case should revert to the people; they wished, therefore, to be consulted about the arrangements to be made with regard to the transfer of power. But a strange situation arose. The Cabinet Mission, while admitting the claims of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League in British India, completely refused a similar representation of the States' people, who would not allow the right of the Princes to speak on their behalf.

"In our own State, the National Conference had made it clear as early as February 10, 1946 that it was against any further continuance of the treaty rights of the Princes which had been "made in times and under circumstances which do not obtain now and which have been framed without seeking the consent of the State peoples. Under such circumstances, no treaties or engagements, which act as a dividing wall between their progress and that of their brethren in British India, can be binding on the people."

It was in this connection that I invited the attention of the Cabinet Mission to the standing inequity of the Treaty of Amritsar and sought its termination. I wrote to the Cabinet Delegation that

> "as the Mission is at the moment reviewing the relationship of the Princes with the Paramount Power with reference to treaty rights, we wish to submit that for us in Kashmir re-examination of this relationship is a vital matter because a hundred years ago in 1846, the land and people of Kashmir were sold away by the British for 50 lakhs of British Indian Rupees. The people of Kashmir are determined to mould their destiny and we appeal to the Mission to recognise the justice and strength of our cause."

In the Memorandum submitted to the Cabinet Mission later by the National Conference, the demand for independence from autocracy

was reiterated: "Today the national demad of the people of Kashmir is not merely the establishment of responsible Government, but their right to absolute freedom from autocratic rule. The immensity of the wrong done to our people by the sale deed of 1946 can only be judged by looking into the actual living conditions of the people. It is the depth of our torment that has given strength to our protest.

"The indifferent attitude of the Cabinet Mission to the claims of the State's people convinced us that freedom would not be given to a hundred million people who were to be left to groan under the heel of autocratic rulers. Consequently, the National Conference gave a call to the people to prepare themselves for fresh ordeals and new responsibilities in the final bid for the capture of power from the hands of autocracy. This call came on the eve of the transfer of power in India and was therefore, in keeping with the spirit of the times.

"The partition of India in 1947, brought many new problems and developments in its wake. In Kashmir, the very foundations of the administration began to shake and the Government made frantic efforts to patch up the cracking structure. Its incompetence had become glaring. With the tribal raids on the State in October 1947, it was obvious that the Maharaja's authority had ceased to function and the real power lay in the hands of the people.

"The future constitutional set-up in the State of Jammu and Kashmir cannot derive authority from the old source of relationship which was expiring and was bound to end soon. The set-up could only rest on the active will of the people of the State, conferring on the Head of the State the title and authority drawn from the true and abiding source of sovereignty, that is, the people."

"In 1946, I had also indicated the basis on which an individual could be entrusted by the people with the symbolic authority of a constitutional Head :—

"The State and its Head represent the constitutional circumference and the centre of this sovereignty respectively, the Head of the State being the symbol of the authority with which the people may invest him for the realisation of their aspirations and the maintenance of their rights."

Saint Thomas Aquinas, as early as the thirteenth century, described the consequences of a king refusing to realise his responsibilities in these wise words :

"A King who is unfaithful to his duty forfeits the claim to obedience. It is not rebellion to depose him, for he is himself a rebel whom the nation has a right to put down. But it is better to abridge his power that he may be unable to abuse it....All political authority is

derived from the people, and all laws ought to be made by them or their own representatives. There is no security for us so long as we depend upon the will of another man."

"There is no doubt that Yuvraj Karan Singh in his capacity as a citizen of the State, will prove a fitting symbol of the transition to a democratic system in which the ruler of yesterday becomes the first servant of the people, functioning under their authority, and on their behalf.

"The next issue before us is that of the compensation which we should or should not grant to those land-owners who have been expropriated during the putting into operation of the "land to the tiller" legislation, under which land was given or given back to the man who actually cultivates it.

"The system of individual ownership of land is of modern growth and originally, the land belonged in common to communities of kinsmen or to the State. Before the British rule, the proprietors were by no means the real owners of the soil and of all methods for the collection of revenue during that time, the most noteworthy was that of collecting it direct from the cultivators through the Headmen of the villages. There is very little evidence to show that, in Moghul and Sikh times, there were many rent-paying tenants. The Ain-i-Akbari not only contains no regulations about tenants but also recognises no intermediary between the culti-

vator and the State. Nevertheless, there were some types of intermediaries in the pre-British period and also in later times, and it is the existence of these intermediaries which led to the development of landlordism in the State. The revenue farmers were one class of such intermediaries and so were the different privileged classes of assignees, jagirdars, muafidars and mukarraridars, all enjoying feudal concessions, which were created during the Moghul and the Sikh times and also during the Dogra Rule.

"In the Jammu Province, ownership of land was granted by State Deeds during the Sikh Rule and the earlier period of the Dogra Rule. In the Kashmir Province, the ownership of land was held by the Ruler since 1846, when Maharaja Gulab Singh purchased Kashmir from the British. It was in 1933 as a result of the pressure of public opinion that proprietary right in land was conferred on the land holders in the Kashmir Province including the Frontier Districts, but this concession to mass demand for transfer of proprietorship of land to the actual cultivators was reduced to a fiction inasmuch as large tracts of land granted by earlier Rulers to influential persons, Rajas and Dewans, by State Deeds were construed and acted upon as grants of the right of proprietorship in land. In this manner were created big proprietors who did not cultivate their lands themselves, but had tenants who paid them rent in cash and kind. The small peasant-proprietor who cultivated land with his own hands also existed, but there were

cases where the cultivators who had originally acquired holder's right and were recorded as such were relegated to the position of tenants by the right of land holding being granted by the Ruler to some of his favourites who did not cultivate the land themselves and were pure and simple rent-receivers.

"While the land settlement in the State was rightly made with the peasant-proprietors, the settlement with the intermediary proprietors, was not made on their recognition as proprietors of the soil, but because of certain political and financial reasons. It was well understood, even by the successive Settlement Officers and Settlement Commissioners in the State that though the intermediary proprietors were to be declared the proprietors of the soil, their tenants really were no ordinary tenants, but were, in most cases, the original and hereditary possessors of the soil. The First Regular Settlement conducted in the State had perhaps nothing to do with the determination of the historical and accurate theory of the intermediary proprietors' position, nor was its function to confer on the proprietors a position comparable to what they originally were. It appears that the task of the settlement authorities was only to legalize all the original acts of illegality and usurpation by which intermediary revenue farmers or rent-receivers had assumed great power and influence in the period of disorder, before a proper Revenue Administration came to the country.

At the First Regular Settlement, the area of land not under cultivation was very large. In 1891 A.D. when the late Sir Walter Lawrence was in the State, every inducement was given to the cultivators to till the land and in this way large tracts of State land were brought under cultivation. But even such lands as had been reclaimed and brought under the plough by the cultivators were gifted away in proprietary right to influential persons. There were grants of land known as Chaks made under orders Nos: 5 and 6, otherwise known as the Pratap Code. All these grants were subject to substantial concession in land revenue. There were grants of different kinds, as for instance, State Officials' Grant in Perpetuity, Hindu Grants and others. The vast majority of these concessionist landholders obtained their grants by virtue of the high positions they had acquired. The grants under the Pratap Code were entirely made to the clan and the kinsmen of the Royal House in whose favour were also released some State Forest Reserves and culturable areas in some Game Reserves . With the demarcation of of forests in the State, several areas were excluded from the forests and let out for cultivation and for purposes of agriculture. State lands were similarly permitted to be used as Grazing Ground. The reclaimed land out of the Wular Lake, and in and around the Dal Lake, which was owned by the State, was also released for cultivation. And then under Raj Tilak Boon No. 4 about 26 years ago, State waste lands were granted as village Commons equivalent to

the aggregate cultivated land of each village, with the same rights as the land-holders enjoyed in respect of their existing holdings. Even after the First Regular Settlement, many estates were sold to speculators or given over to those who were prepared to meet the land revenue demand in cases where default was made by actual cultivators, and the right to own land was recognised as that of the revenue-payer as against the actual cultivator who defaulted. The non-cultivating land-owners leased out their interests and the middle-men leased it out in turn, creating a long chain of rent-receivers and rent-payers, who intervened between the State and the actual cultivators.

"It will thus be seen that a substantial portion of the landed property came to be owned from such land as well as property of the State before and in every case the acquisition of land was free from any encumbrance or payment of any consideration."

THE END

KASHMIR
THROUGH THE AGES

ERRATA

Page	V	read Sind for Sindh	—2.
,,	XIV	read amorous for afmorous	—8.
,,	XVI	read emerald for emrald	—15.
,,	XVI	read it with before Florence	—30.
,,	3	read Harsha for Harrsha	—5.
,,	5	read Although for Althouhg	—17.
,,	7	read safeguarding for safegaurding	—18.
,,	8	read a before history	—last line.
,,	12	read Indus for indus	—9.
,,	15	read Buddhists for Budhists	—8.
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,,	25	read in before Kashmir	—2.
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,,	30	read Banaras for Banares	—30.
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,,	50	read tranquility for tranquillity	—2 *f.n.*
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,,	67	read himself for himslef	—13.
,,	67	read Sind for Sindh	—24.
,,	85	read Elsewhere for Elsehwtere	—12.
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,,	95	read Parsimonious for persimonious	—3.
,,	113	read rent-free for rene-free	—24.
,,	129	read the after of	—1 *f.n.*
,,	144	read injunction for injuction	—7.
,,	149	read attacked for attached	—5 *f.n.*
,,	150	read theatres for theaters	—*last line.*
,,	164	read Bread for Broad	—1 *f.n.*
,,	226	read Sindh for Sind	—5.
,,	240	delete line 6. including date in line 7.	
,,	245	read aggravated for aggrevated	—2.
,,	267	delete and before Sikhs	—4.
,,	286	omit of before forests	—25.

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